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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE TYPES OF PUBLIC
APPEALS MADE BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
AND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

by

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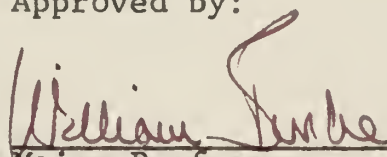
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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. DRAMATIC RATIOS WITHIN EPIDEICTIC AND DELIBERATIVE ORATORY	5
III. THE TIMES OF KING AND CLEAVER	41
IV. CONCLUSION	104
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	111
LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED	112

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In an age when various forms of control are exerted over the population of this world, it does not seem improper to ask, "How are people motivated to do what they do?" "In what way do leaders persuade, cajole, or force people to act as a cohesive unit?" Perhaps part of the answer to these questions lies within the realm of rhetoric. Rhetoric as a discipline has been defined as persuasion traditionally, but a twentieth century scholar, Kenneth Burke, states that persuasion "involves choice, will; it is directed to a man only insofar as he is free."¹ Only if man is free to act will persuasion influence him. Burke states that insofar as a man must do something, "rhetoric is unnecessary, its work being done by the nature of things, though often these necessities are not of a natural origin, but come from necessities imposed by man-made conditions."² If the actions of a man are restricted, Burke believes that rhetoric is not persuasive, but "seeks rather to have a formative effect upon attitude."³

¹Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1950), p. 574.

²Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

³Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

That is, the purpose of rhetoric in a restrictive atmosphere is more directed towards attitude than action.

In his book, A Grammar of Motives, Kenneth Burke develops a dramatistic pentad that is designed to analyze five forms of motivation: scene, act, agent, agency, and purpose. In the preceding paragraph it was noted that "insofar as (man) is free" (scene), rhetoric is persuasive (purpose). However, if "the actions of a man are restricted" (scene), rhetoric "seeks rather to have a formative effect upon attitude" (purpose). Thus, the purpose of rhetoric has been altered by the scene of which it was a part (scene-purpose ratio). In the more restrictive scene, rhetoric seems to adhere to the principles of epideictic oratory ("praised or censures"). In the less restrictive scene, rhetoric seems to adhere to the principles of deliberative oratory ("urges us either to do or not to do something") as defined by Aristotle in Book I, Chapter 3 of the Rhetoric. The latter scene persuades men to commit an out-and-out action, whereas in the initial scene persuasion is directed towards attitude.

The forms of address employed by speakers have affected men since the foundation of communal living. Public oratory has driven men to accept (attitude) a system of political control or to fight (act) to perserve it. Such formidable figures as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Eldridge Cleaver have sought to persuade men to overcome discriminational actions from the society in which they live. The type of

oratory (deliberative or epideictic) employed by each of these men seems to have been the result of the scene-act or the scene-agent ratio.

The intent of the author of this thesis is to examine the oratory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Eldridge Cleaver in terms of the scene within which each man spoke and the apparent purpose of their oratory. The reasons for basing this study on the speeches of King and Cleaver are (1) these men are contemporaries, (2) both of them are engaged in directing a minority group in rebellion, (3) the political philosophies of each man are exceedingly different, and (4) much of their effectiveness as leaders can be attributed to their strong oral appeals.

The literature of Kenneth Burke is basic to this study in that his philosophy of dramatism permits an investigator to separate motivational appeals into five distinct components. This method of analysis is made even more suitable in view of the fact that it does not confine motivational influence to any single aspect of the pentad, but it is designed to account for ratios within the five terms.

Aristotle's definitions of epideictic and deliberative oratory are also fundamental to this study in that each will be used to classify the oratory of King and Cleaver. Another reason for the inclusion of these classificatory terms is that epideictic oratory appears to move people to accept an attitude while deliberative oratory moves people to action.

This paper will begin its investigation into the rhetoric of Eldridge Cleaver and Dr. King by defining epideictic and deliberative oratory according to Aristotle. Once this has been accomplished, this writer will define the method of dramatism as it has been explained by Kenneth Burke.

The second step of this paper will include an analysis of the scene in which Mr. Cleaver and Dr. King participated. Following this, the author of this paper will apply the definitions of epideictic and deliberative oratory to the speeches of King and Cleaver. The results of this investigation will provide the basis for the analysis of the purpose of each speaker.

The concluding phase of this study will be a comparison of the appeal to act (deliberative oratory) and the appeal to attitude (epideictic oratory) as expressed by Dr. King and Mr. Cleaver. From this analysis, certain inferences will be drawn regarding the dramatic ratios within the oratory of each speaker and their respective purposes.

CHAPTER II

DRAMATIC RATIOS WITHIN EPIDEICTIC AND DELIBERATIVE ORATORY

Defining the discipline of rhetoric has occupied the minds of rhetoricians for a period exceeding two milleniums. Cicero, in the dialogue De Oratore, stated that rhetoric was "speech designed to persuade."⁴ Aristotle, in the Rhetoric, stated that rhetoric "may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion."⁵ Isocrates saw rhetoric as the "craftsman of persuasion."⁶ Definitions of rhetoric stressing persuasion persisted up to the time of Quintilian. In Institutio Oratoria, Quintilian defined rhetoric as the "science of speaking well."⁷ A Twentieth Century scholar, Kenneth Burke, defines rhetoric as "the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols."⁸

⁴Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1950), p. 573.

⁵Aristotle, Rhetoric, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York: The Modern Library, 1954), p. 24.

⁶Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

⁷Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

⁸Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

The influence of language can hardly be exaggerated. Don Martindale in his book, Institutions, Organizations and Mass Society, states that "the most fundamental of all agencies of influence is communication; the most basic of all instruments of social control is language."⁹ Martindale and Burke do not appear to be assigning a more prominent role to rhetoric than Aristotle did in the Fourth Century, B.C.

Extant Aristotelian works offer innumerable references to analytic methods available to modern critics of rhetoric. Included in the works of Aristotle is the Rhetoric in which can be found a tripartite classification of the kinds of orations.

Rhetoric falls into three divisions, determined by the three classes of listeners to speeches. For of the three elements in speech-making--speaker, subject and person addressed--it is the last one, the hearer, that determines the speech's end and object. The hearer must be either a judge, with a decision to make about things past or future, or an observer. A member of the assembly decides about future events, a jurymen about past events: while those who merely decide on the orator's skill are observers. From this it follows that there are three divisions of oratory--(1) political, (2) forensic, and (3) the ceremonial oratory of display."¹⁰

The first of these classifications, political oratory, also known as deliberative, hortatory and advisory, is concerned with something that shall or shall not be done in the future. The speaker engaged in deliberative oratory is

⁹ Don Martindale, Institutions, Organizations and Mass Society (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966), p. 293.

¹⁰ Aristotle, Rhetoric, pp. 31-32.

primarily concerned with persuading someone to do something because it will prove to be either good (good in itself and therefore worthy of being pursued for its own sake) or advantageous (good for a person and therefore worthy of being pursued for what it can do for us or what we can do with it). Whether one relies on the topic as a good or as an advantage will depend on the nature of the subject and the nature of the audience.¹¹ When a speaker is attempting to persuade a listener to study art he will probably do so by demonstrating that it is a good in itself. This would be the case as those who study art generally do not find that it makes them richer or necessarily even more popular, but that it helps them appreciate art works in general. This is, then, a qualitative matter.

An orator attempting to persuade an audience that they should study medicine would probably demonstrate the advantages of such a course of instruction. In this demonstration the orator would probably inform his audience of the high income of medical doctors, the number of lives saved each year in the United States by physicians and surgeons or the job security that is attached to this profession. The values connected with the advantageous would be of a quantitative matter.

¹¹Edward P. J. Corbett, Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 133-134.

The nature of the audience is also a determining factor in selecting an appeal through either the goodness or the advantage of an object. The speaker should have an understanding of the temper, educational level, interests and mores of his audience in order to adapt an appropriate persuasive appeal. In the book, Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student, Edward P. J. Corbett states that if an orator believes his audience to be more impressed by appeals based on the goodness or worthiness of a topic "then our knowledge of the audience will have to be a little fuller and a little more accurate, because now we must have, in addition to a general sense of the temper of the audience, some knowledge of just what things are regarded as 'good' by the audience and what the hierarchy of good things is."¹² Thus, a persuasive appeal based on the worthiness or qualitative value of the subject under discussion should only be attempted by those who are thoroughly acquainted with attitudes that are indigenous to the culture of an audience.

In Book I, Chapter 4 of the Rhetoric, Aristotle states that the orator giving a deliberative speech should be acquainted with the history of his audience. With a comprehensive view of the culture of an audience, a political speaker will be more aware of the attitudes of his audience and what they seek. In a deliberative oration, the subject

¹²Edward P. J. Corbett, p. 134.

will be concerned with what the audience should seek or avoid and the speaker will attempt to persuade his audience on the basis of their future happiness. The Aristotelian concept of happiness is defined as "prosperity combined with virtue; or as independence of life; or as the secure enjoyment of the maximum of pleasure; or as a good condition of property and body, together with the power of guarding one's property and body and making use of them."¹³ Within the definition of happiness, Aristotle included such benefits as good birth (good birth to an individual means that one's parents are free citizens and that the founders of the line have been notable for wealth or virtue), wealth (plenty of coined money and territory and the ownership of numerous estates, slaves and livestock), and physical health (free from disease and an attractive, strong body). The orator, with an historical perspective of his audience, will be better equipped to select an appeal to either the worth or the advantage of his topic and persuade his audience on the basis of what he knows they consider to be good.

Kenneth Burke also has a definition of happiness which he refers to as the "Pleasure Principle of Orientation." Burke believes that people "characterize the signs of experience mainly with reference to pleasant and unpleasant

¹³Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 38.

expectancies."¹⁴ These expectancies involve the services that are performed by people who possess such virtues as industriousness, ability, frankness, kindness, helpfulness, generosity, cheerfulness and forgiveness. Burke states that "We should love to have . . . these virtues . . . all about us. . . . Thus, we try to cultivate them in ourselves as well."¹⁵ However, even if a man is not virtuous but the society in which he lives manifests virtues, one would still live in a world which could be quite comfortable. Hence, Burke's concept of happiness differs from that of Aristotle in that Burkeian happiness revolves around the serviceability of the virtue and Aristotelian happiness is concerned with the prestige that comes from having the virtue.

In summary, the deliberative oration is designed to persuade someone to select or reject a particular proposition. The fact that the audience has the option of acting on a proposition by way of selecting or rejecting it suggests that they are free to do so. In A Rhetoric of Motives, Kenneth Burke states that persuasion "involves choice, will; it is directed to a man only insofar as he is free."¹⁶ "Only insofar as men are potentially free, must the spellbinder seek to persuade them. Insofar as they must do something, rhetoric

¹⁴Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1954), p. 21.

¹⁵Burke, Permanence and Change, p. 22.

¹⁶Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

is unnecessary, its work being done by the nature of things, though often these necessities are not of a natural origin, but come from necessities imposed by man-made conditions."¹⁷ This persuasive appeal to out-and-out action would be contrasted with the persuasive appeal to attitude. If the choice of actions is restricted, Burke believes that "rhetoric seeks rather to have a formative effect upon attitude."¹⁸ It is the point of action and attitude that seems to constitute one of the differences between deliberative and ceremonial oratory.

Ceremonial oratory, or, as it is sometimes referred to, epideictic oratory, is concerned principally with the present. The primary function of this type of rhetoric is either to praise or censure somebody or something. Aristotle states in Book I, Chapter 3 of the Rhetoric that those "who praise or attack a man aim at proving him worthy of honor or the reverse, and they too treat all other considerations with reference to this one."¹⁹ Edward P. J. Corbett states that the ceremonial orator seems to be more "intent on impressing the audience with the eloquence of his laudatory efforts than he (is) on persuading his audience to adopt a certain course of action."²⁰ A second reference is made to action by

¹⁷Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

¹⁸Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

¹⁹Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 33.

²⁰Edward P. J. Corbett, p. 139.

Corbett when he states that ceremonial oratory "differs from deliberative discourse in that its primary object is to praise or censure someone, not to persuade men to do or not to do something."²¹ These references to action or lack of action refer to what Kenneth Burke terms "persuasion to attitude" and "persuasion to action."

Another fundamental difference between deliberative and ceremonial oratory is the central aim of each type of discourse. It has been stated that deliberative oratory has the special aspect of happiness and the special aspect of ceremonial discourse is praise or blame. Quite naturally, each of these types of oratory relies on different special topics to support the central aim of happiness or praise and blame.

The special topics of ceremonial discourse would be the virtue or vice or the noble or base aspects of the thing being praised or blamed. In selecting criteria for discussing the nobleness or baseness of something, Aristotle stated in Book I, Chapter 9 of the Rhetoric that the "Noble is that which is both desirable for its own sake and also worthy of praise; or that which is both good and also pleasant because good. If this is the true definition of the Noble, it follows that virtue must be noble, since it is both a good thing and also praiseworthy."²² Virtue, believes Aristotle, is "a

²¹Edward P. J. Corbett, p. 139.

²²Aristotle, Rhetoric, pp. 56-57.

faculty of providing and preserving good things; or a faculty of conferring many great benefits and benefits of all kinds on all occasions."²³ Aristotle gives eight examples of what people commonly discuss when they are attempting to affect the attitude of someone toward something. They are:

1. Justice--this would refer to the individual who respected the rights of other men.
2. Courage--this virtue refers to those qualities of an individual that allow him to face dangerous or trying situations without fear, but with firmness.
3. Temperance--with this virtue men choose to obey the public laws rather than their own physical pleasure drives.
4. Magnificence--this refers to the generosity displayed by an individual in matters involving money.
5. Magnanimity--this refers to the act of doing good to others on a larger scale than they would expect.
6. Liberality--this refers to the act of expending money, time or effort on the behalf of others.
7. Gentleness--this virtue refers to the kindness that we extend to others.
8. Prudence--this virtue allows men to make wise decisions concerning methods to achieve happiness.²⁴

This list of virtues represents those qualities in the character of an individual that people of all ages and environments would consider to be of beneficence to the whole society. It would follow, then, that to attack the character

²³Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 57.

²⁴Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 57.

of a man would be to note the absence of these qualities and thus persuade your audience to adopt an attitude that would condemn him for his personal qualities.

Aristotle described another means by which men may praise or censure in oratory. When attempting to persuade someone of the worthiness or advantage of a certain thing, men have a tendency to magnify the virtues and minimize the vices of the object being discussed. In attempting to persuade the audience of the ignobility of something, the orator should magnify the vices and minimize the virtues. Aristotle terms these concepts "amplification" (referring to magnifying) and "depreciation" (referring to minifying).²⁵

In summary, it can be stated that the deliberative oration is aimed at moving men to commit an act. The orator, through the special aspect of happiness, attempts to persuade men that the action called for in his discourse will contribute to their future well-being. The principal point to be made here is that this type of oratory requires action on the part of the audience.

Ceremonial discourse, on the other hand, is not aimed so much at action as it is concerned with persuading the audience to adopt an attitude similar to that of the orator. Burke states that persuasion to attitude is intended to "induce or communicate states of mind." This would require nothing more of the audience than their acceptance of the

²⁵Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 62.

proposition being offered. That is, they would not be expected to act on the proposition of the orator, but merely include it within their "states of mind."²⁶

It was previously noted that the methods of amplification and depreciation were effective means of persuading an audience to accept a point of view held by an orator. Further mention of this should be made in connection with contemporary methods used to inject attitudes into the minds of an audience.

In the Rhetoric, Aristotle stated that an orator delivering a ceremonial discourse should concentrate on associating the object of his praise or blame with what is elevated or base. If one is attempting to praise a man, Aristotle stated that he "may pit him against others. . . . The comparison should be made with famous men; that will strengthen your case; it is a noble thing to surpass men who are themselves great."²⁷ Another form of amplification stated by Aristotle is to take the actions of a man and "invest these with dignity and nobility."²⁸ A third form of heightening the effect of praise would be to associate the actions of a man with what is considered by the audience to be noble or virtuous. Yet, "even if a man has not actually done a given

²⁶Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

²⁷Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 62.

²⁸Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 63.

good thing, we shall bestow praise on him, if we are sure that he is the sort of man who would do it."²⁹ Another method of persuasion would be that of the ethical appeal or ethos. If the speaker is held in esteem by those in his audience, they tend to believe his statements concerning the nobleness or ignobleness of the topic he is discussing.

It has thus far been established that deliberative oratory seeks primarily to motivate people to commit an out-and-out action while ceremonial discourse is more concerned with motivating an audience to accept a point of view expressed by a speaker. The methods employed to reach these ends have been discussed; it remains to discuss those matters which motivate an audience to react in a manner which was sought by the speaker. A method for such an analysis has been developed by a contemporary scholar and rhetorician, Kenneth Burke. An explanation of this analysis and its relation to deliberative and ceremonial oratory will conclude this chapter.

In this age of intense human interaction, much verbiage is aired concerning actions and reactions to these actions in terms of motives. Theorists such as Marx and Freud have erected elaborate theories of motives but their works neglect to state the relationship between motives and the forms in which they are expressed. Hugh Dalziel Duncan, in his

²⁹Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 61.

introduction to Permanence and Change by Kenneth Burke, states that "Burke argues that symbolic systems in art, religion, science, philosophy, literature, and indeed, in all phases of action are answers to questions posed by the situation in which they arose."³⁰ It is to the development of an understanding of motives as they exist in communication that Kenneth Burke devotes much of his writing.

The heart of Burke's argument is simple enough, namely, that symbolic forms affect conduct because of the ways in which they affect communication, and thus all action. He is saying that motives lie not only in some kind of experience 'beyond' symbols, but also in symbols. In sum, symbolism is a motive because symbolism is a motivational dimension in its own right. The way in which sex is symbolized largely determines the kinds of emotions we have about sex. This does not mean that somatic sexual 'feelings' cannot be studied as we study any kind of somatic experience. But a feeling is not an emotion until the feeling is expressed in some form that 'attaches' values to the somatic feeling. The proper study of emotions, therefore, is the study of the forms of their expression in social life.³¹

That is, the way in which we relate ourselves determines, in part, the way in which we relate to society. "The study of forms--the ways in which we communicate--becomes then the study of motives, just as the study of contents--what we communicate about--does also. The symbolic or formal phase of the act is, therefore, no less real than its motor phase. If we are to understand one, we must understand the other."³²

³⁰Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change, p. XXII.

³¹Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change, pp. XX-XXI.

³²Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change, p. XXII.

In Counter-Statement, Burke explains that "though forms need not be prior to experience, they are certainly prior to a work of art exemplifying them."³³ These symbols either orient a situation or provide adjustment to a situation, or do both. Thus, Burke places man as a communicant beside the whole man: the political, economic, religious and scientific. If man matures within the framework of a mathematical orientation, he is inclined to perceive arithmetic relationships left unobserved by the layman to this scientific field. Or, if his religion happens to be non-Catholic, man does not interpret life after death in terms of purgatory.

It should follow, then, that communication is a social phenomenon in that its communicative effects are based in "social likeness." Burke states that no matter how much an individual poet "may transform language for his special purposes, the resources with which he begins are 'traditional,' that is: social. And such sociality of meaning is grounded in a sociality of material conduct, or cooperation."³⁴ "Ideal cooperation," states Burke, "would be a momentous material aid to the communicative medium, whereas communication is impaired to the extent that cooperation is impaired."³⁵ Duncan stresses in his introduction to Permanence and Change

³³Kenneth Burke, Counter Statement (Los Altos, Calif.: Hermes Publications, 1953), p. 141.

³⁴Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change, p. LII.

³⁵Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change, p. LIII.

that if "we can develop a method for the analysis of what symbols do to us in our relationships with each other, we may yet learn to lead a better life."³⁶ The development of a "method for the analysis of what symbols do to us in our relations with each other" would bring us closer to what Burke refers to as "ideal cooperation."

One of the primary means of analyzing a human interaction employed by Burke is called "dramatism." This model of action is designed to analyze what communication is doing for people as they act together. The dramatic act, also referred to as the pentad, is comprised of five terms: act, scene, agent, agency and purpose.

The pentad that Kenneth Burke constructs in his Grammar of Motives offers men a "synoptic way to talk about their talk about."³⁷ The pentad that Burke offers is an answer to his criticisms of the symbolic analysts who fail to clarify the way in which they arrive at their conclusions about the meaning of symbols. Burke stresses his belief that "the principle of form typified in drama is the basic form of all relationships among men in society."³⁸ This model of communication is intended to tell us what communication is doing for people as they interact. The concern of the dramatic model

³⁶Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change, p. XLIII.

³⁷Kenneth Burke, Grammar of Motives (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1950), p. 56.

³⁸Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change, p. XXX.

is "with the basic forms of thought which, in accordance with the nature of the world as all men necessarily experience it, are exemplified in the attributing of motives."³⁹ Burke states that these forms of thought can be found in legal judgements, poetry, fiction, political and scientific works and in bits of gossip offered at random.⁴⁰

The five terms of the dramatic model are act (what was done), scene (where or when it was done), agent (who did it), agency (the instrument or means used) and purpose (why it was done). The discussion of the pentad will begin with the ratios of the five terms as they have been developed by Kenneth Burke.

Keeping aligned with the dramatic model, it can be said that the scene is the setting or background against which the act was committed. Also, the scene is the container of the agent committing the act. Burke states that it is a principle of drama that the "nature of the acts and agents should be consistent with the nature of the scene. And whereas comic and grotesque works may deliberately set these elements at odds with one another, audiences make allowance for such liberty."⁴¹ The nature of this scene may be conveyed by the linguistic element (dialogue) and the non-linguistic element

³⁹Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. X.

⁴⁰Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. X.

⁴¹Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 3.

(stage property). These properties that construct the scene provide men with motives for action just as environmental conditions are, according to Darwin, instrumental in determining the behavior and development of man. "From the motivational point of view, there is implicit in the quality of the scene, the quality of the action that is to take place within it."⁴² That is, the act, in almost anything other than comedy, will be consistent with the whole of which it is a part. "Thus, when the curtain rises to disclose a given stage-set, this stage-set contains, simultaneously, implicitly, all that the narrative is to draw out as a sequence, explicitly. Or, if you will, the stage-set contains the action ambiguously (as regards the norms of action)--and in the course of the play's development this ambiguity is converted into a corresponding articulacy. The properties would be: scene is to act as implicit is to explicit."⁴³ This, is referred to by Burke as the scene-act ratio.

The scene-agent ratio, as explained in A Grammar of Motives, defines the relation between the person and the place. According to Burke there is a synecdochic relation between the scene and the agent. There is the same relationship between scene and agent as there is between antecedent and consequence: the contents of the container will, by the logic of the scene-agent ratio, determine the quality of the thing

⁴²Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 7.

⁴³Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 7.

contained. The implication of this is that the agent within the scene can modify it in such a way as to implicitly contain the quality of his action.

In A Grammar of Motives one can find terms that are synonymous with the term scene as used by Burke: society, environment, and situation. More specific terms for scene are also introduced: 12:20 P.M., Elizabethan period, or romanticism. These terms for scene can have, depending on the definition and intent of the author, a motivational bearing. The political terms that are used to describe a situation have a motivational impact as those living under a particular form of government are expected to adhere to or act in accordance with governmental regulations. Here the reader will notice that the scene-act ratio can be applied in two ways. "It can be applied deterministically in statements that a certain policy had to be adopted in a certain situation, or it may be applied in hortatory statements to the effect that a certain policy should be adopted in conformity with the situation."⁴⁴ From this it can be concluded that a purely democratic act cannot exist unless the scene is purely democratic.

Burke further reduces the motivational bases of scene when he states that our words for "position," "occupation," and "office" indicate scenic overtones in action. "Our words for particular 'jobs' under capitalistic industrialism refer

⁴⁴Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 13.

to acts, but often the element of action is reduced to a minimum and the element of sheer motion raised to a maximum."⁴⁵

Within the present state of technology can be viewed scenes where an act corresponds to the timing of an assembly line.

From this information, it could be stated that the ratios of the scene and the act and the scene and the agent are positive. Both the act and the agent are said to be contained by the scene. These two ratios constitute but two of the possible ten ratios that are recognizable under the pentad as developed by Dr. Burke. In Chapter 31 of the book Communication and Social Order, Hugh Dalziel Duncan discusses the remaining eight ratios within the dramatistic model of communication. Paraphrased for use in this paper, these are:

The scene-agency ratio refers to the appeal to do something because it has been established by custom, usage or tradition. An example of such a ratio would occur when a teacher would say to a child, "Children your age do not act like that."

The scene-purpose ratio would be made-up of actions that have their purpose grounded in the environment. Duncan states that "money determines the 'laws of supply and demand,' so it is 'natural' for men to work for money."⁴⁶ This act of working has been stimulated by the scene in which the actor participates.

Evidences of congruency are to be found in the act-purpose ratio. That is, the end of action, or its purpose, and the action itself are said to be congruent. If a soldier states that people must go to war in order to purify the race, evidences of the act-purpose ratio would exist. Here the act (warring) and the purpose (purify the race) are congruent.

⁴⁵Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 14.

⁴⁶Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Communication and Social Order (New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962), p. 435.

In the act-agency ratio, means are made into ends. That is, the agency is made-up of the act itself. If one thought that hard work brought happiness, then the means (hard work) would be made into the ends (happiness).

The agent-purpose ratio can best be seen when the act of a leader becomes the purpose of the community. An example of this would have taken place when Charles de Gaulle stated that "I am France." That is, the actions of President de Gaulle became the purpose of France.

The agent-agency ratio occurs when relationships are motivated by qualities intrinsic to the character of an agent. That is, in instances when agencies such as instincts, drives, or states of mind motivate relationships, the agent-agency ratio is dominant. This ratio would be seen when the "herd instinct" of an animal motivates it to be gregarious.

The agency-purpose ratio occurs when instruments or techniques become ends. Duncan states that how we record temperature is our concept of temperature. The agency-purpose ratio would thus include the concept that experiences are limited by the number of forms or symbols that people have to describe them.

The last of these ratios to be discussed is the act-agent ratio. In the discussion dealing with the ratios of the scene-act and scene agent, it was noted that the act and the agent are inherent to the scene as the scene is said to contain them. Burke points out that the relation between act and agent is not positional. "The agent does not 'contain' the act, though its results might be said to 'preexist virtually' within him. And the act does not 'synecdochically share' in the agent, though certain ways of acting may be said to induce corresponding moods or traits of character."⁴⁷ Burke suggests that the act-agent ratio more strongly suggests a "temporal or sequential" relationship than a purely

⁴⁷Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 16.

"positional or geometric" one. That is, the agent is responsible for the act and the scene is tertiary to the issue. Ordinarily, the scene-act and the scene-agent ratios cover cases involving motives, but there are instances where further discriminations are necessary as in the case when motives are essentially located in the agent. Such a case would occur when a man defends his country on the basis of a patriotic attachment to the soil and in lieu of the political instrument that governs him. This invites circular reasoning to occur within the analysis of motives. "If an agent acts in keeping with his nature as an agent (act-agent ratio), he may change the nature of the scene accordingly (scene-act ratio), and thereby establish a state of unity between himself and his world (scene-agent ratio). Or the scene may call for a certain kind of act, which makes for a corresponding kind of agent, thereby likening agent to scene. Or our act may change us and our scene, producing a mutual conformity."⁴⁸ Such purity of action is not possible, believes Burke, as people are capable of but "partial acts" that represent only a portion of the complete character of the actor. From this it would naturally follow that one must limit his field of observation (the total act) and find what fundamentals contribute to or motivate the act under analysis. This can be done, believes Burke, through an analysis of "substance."

Burke states that to describe a thing in terms of what

⁴⁸Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 19.

it is (substance), is to state what a thing is not. Although the word is used to designate the intrinsic facets of a thing, the word etymologically refers to its extrinsic facets as well. By defining a thing, one marks its boundaries through terms that possess, implicitly at least, contextual reference. Contextual definition, then, is the first method of definition discussed by Burke. Familial definition is the second form of definition to be considered.

Familial definition defines a substance in terms of its ancestral cause. The Platonic Doctrine of Forms which states that each thing in the world had an eponym in heaven is an example of familial definition. To Plato, the worldly object was an imperfect replica of its heavenly form but nevertheless was generated by it.

From this one can see that a definition by context would stress placement while an ancestral definition stresses derivation. In any sustained discussion of motives, states Burke, the two "become interwoven, as with theologies which treat God both as 'causal ancestor' of mankind and as the ultimate ground or context of mankind."⁴⁹ These treat substance as a unit without consideration of its component parts. The third form of definition, definition by location, allows one to discuss the object or act of his attention in terms of "substrates" or building blocks that comprise the whole.

⁴⁹Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 28.

Definition by location is discussed in terms of the circumference of the area within which an act or object is viewed. That is, a human action viewed in a scene that includes human interaction will be attributed different motives when the scene is narrowed to exclude all people but the principal agent. Because of this, Burke states that "we are properly admonished to be on the look-out for these terministic relationships between the circumference and the 'circumfered,' even on occasions that may on the surface seem to be of a purely empirical nature."⁵⁰ In the same light, one should view man, not as an historically isolated creature, but, as a product of a situation extending through centuries. To Burke, man is in an historical, generically human and universal situation. The choice of a circumference used in analyzing the motivational effects placed upon an agent represents what Burke refers to as a "substantially free" selection.⁵¹ In confronting the wide range of circumferences that orbit the act, "men confront what is distinctively the human freedom and the human necessity. This necessity is a freedom insofar as the choice of circumference leads to an adequate interpretation of motives; and it is enslavement insofar as the interpretation is inadequate. One might exploit the conveniences of 'substance' by saying that, in necessarily

⁵⁰Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 78.

⁵¹Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 84.

confronting such a range of choices, men are 'substantially' free."⁵²

"The contracting and expanding of scene is rooted in the very nature of linguistic placement. And a selection of circumference from among this range is in itself an act, and 'act of faith,' with the definition or interpretation of the act taking shape accordingly."⁵³ That is, an expanded scene would alter a previous scene-act ratio and thus would call for a slightly different to a radically different interpretation of the act under analysis. To totally interpret our environment as a stimulus to action one must expand the orbit of the circumference to include all that has taken place since the Edenic age. This, of course, is far too laborious a task to require. The point to be made is that the motives attributed to the actions of a man can be drastically altered when viewed in varying scopes. The sentence "Barney acted like any normal three year old," leads one to consider Barney "normal." That is, until the scene or circumference is widened to include his physical age of twenty-seven.

This discussion should allow the reader to arrive at an understanding of what Burke means by the term "definition." The next step will be to survey the term "dialectic

⁵²Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 84.

⁵³Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 84.

substance" and state how this will be employed in the grammar.

It has been previously observed that a "thing" (substance) is defined in terms of its boundaries. That is, it is defined in relation to what is external to it: its context. Dialectic substance must be considered not only as a "merely external instrument, but also intrinsic to men as agents. Its motivational properties characterize both 'the human situation' and what men are 'in themselves.'"54 Burke states that dialectic substance is the "over-all category of dramatism, which treats of human motives in the terms of verbal action. By this statement we most decidedly do not mean that human motives are confined to the realm of verbal action. We mean rather that the dramatic analysis of motives has its point of departure in the subject of verbal action (in thought, speech and document)."55 Hugh Dalziel Duncan in Communication and Social Order explains that the dramatic model of Burke is grounded in symbols themselves. Burke, according to Duncan, "does not tell us simply what symbols do in communication, but how they do what he says they do."56 Duncan continues by stating that "if we regard man as a symbol-using animal we must stress symbolism as a motive in any discussion of social behavior. That is, the kind of

⁵⁴Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 33.

⁵⁵Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 33.

⁵⁶Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Communication and Social Order, p. 114.

symbols we have, who can use them, when, where, how, and why--these do not 'reflect' motives, they are motives."⁵⁷

With this in mind, the discussion will return to dialectic substance in order to better understand what Burke means when he states that it is the "over-all category of dramatism."

Dialectic considers things in terms not of some other, but of the other. A thing is defined in terms of something else. In the present investigation, it was stated that people talk about human motives dialectically (dramatistically) when they do so in terms of verbal action. When Burke states that dialectic substance is the "over-all category of dramatism," he means that the dramatic model is grounded in language which is a symbolic property. "Symbolic communication," states Burke "is not a merely external instrument, but also intrinsic to men as agents. Its motivational properties characterize both 'the human situation' and what men are 'in themselves.'"⁵⁸ Thus, when a man sees human motives in terms of verbal action his language will reflect both the "human situation" and what he is "in himself." This is the basis of the dramatic model.

Up to now, this paper has discussed the pentad in the most generalized terms; how to reduce and expand the scope, the ratios within the pentad and the definitions of substance

⁵⁷Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Communication and Social Order, pp. 114-115.

⁵⁸Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 33.

and dialectic. The next step will be to explore the five terms of the dramatic model: scene, agent, act, agency and purpose.

Scene is the first of the five elements in the structure of a social act to be considered. This term signifies the background against which the act is committed. The circumference of this is extended to include the time and the space in which the act occurred. The point that Burke stresses in his discussion of scene is that the grammatical area impinges upon the areas of rhetoric and symbolic. Burke expresses the opinion that, historically, the terms used to describe a scene imposed a predetermined supposition. This can be seen in the philosophies of various schools of sociology. Burke states that these schools, in analyzing a given situation, feature one of the terms of the pentad. "Dramatically, the different philosophic schools are to be distinguished by the fact that each school features a different one of the five terms in developing a vocabulary designed to allow this one term full expression (as regards its resources and its temptations) with the other terms being comparatively slighted or being placed in the perspective of the featured term."⁵⁹ That is, a philosophic school that chose to feature the area of motives covered by the term "scene" will find itself "scenifing" the remaining four terms of the pentad when applying a scenic terminology to them.

⁵⁹Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 127.

The second term of the pentad to be identified is act. This describes what took place "in thought or deed," or, as Aristotle termed it in the Poetics, the "plot."⁶⁰ The fact that Burke stresses the terms "thought" and "deed" is important in that he draws a distinction between the terms "action" and "motion." If the scene specifically calls for a certain response, the response would be termed "motion" rather than action. When the scene does not mechanically determine the response, but the actor is free to do as he chooses, the response will be termed an "action."

The act, then, could be defined as a phenomenon that originates within an agent and is representative of him. When analyzing this phenomenon, one must do so in terms of the biological interests of the agent and the resistance he finds in the external world.

The agent, the third terms of the pentad to be discussed, could be defined as the principal actor committing the act within the scene. This term can be expanded to include co-agents (those who help the agent commit the act) and counter-agents (those who hinder the agent in committing the action). When attempting to analyze motives of the agent we must consider the scene within which the act was committed and the motivational forces within the agent. For instance, a man may select to write about views which are considered

⁶⁰ Aristotle, Poetics, trans. Ingram Bywater (New York: The Modern Library, 1954), p. 229.

dissident by the totalitarian government which rules him because he loves freedom (motivation within the agent) or because nothing is surer to awaken thoughts of freedom than political tyranny (motivation from the scene). In looking for causistry of the act, one should analyze the motivational influence exerted on the agent internally and externally.

Agency is the fourth term in the pentad to be discussed. This term refers to the instruments used by the agent in committing the act. Duncan states that agency " . . . denotes means or ways of acting."⁶¹ From this, one can determine that an agency, pragmatically, serves as a means to an end. That is, the agency, when viewed in the context of the act as the end, serves as a means. Courts of law are the agency in the act of justice; language is the agency in the act of communication; force is the agency in the act of motion.

The purpose, the last of the terms of the pentad to be discussed, refers to the reason for a particular act or why it was done; the final cause.⁶² Perhaps this could best be equated with the reward that one would expect to receive after having committed an act. The purpose of research is to increase knowledge; the purpose of law is order; the purpose of naming is identification.

Thus far, this paper has defined the five terms that

⁶¹Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Communication and Social Order, p. 434.

⁶²Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 288.

comprise the pentad of Kenneth Burke. It is important to note, however, that these terms "seldom stand alone in symbolic phases of the act. Relationships between two, or stress on various combinations of two or more elements, are common."⁶³ This will be found to be the case as all of these terms participate in a common ground (motives) and this makes for "transformability." "At every point where the field covered by any of these terms overlaps upon the field covered by any other, there is an alchemic opportunity, whereby we can put one philosophy or doctrine of motivation into the alembic, make the appropriate passes and take out another."⁶⁴ These transformations, Burke states, take place in areas of ambiguity within our statements about motives. It is the purpose of these transformations to distinguish the relationships between the five terms of the pentad. The following example from Burke indicates how transformations take place within act, agent, agency, scene, and purpose.

War may be treated as an agency, insofar as it is a means to an end; as a collective act, subdivisible into many individual acts; as a purpose, in schemes proclaiming a cult of war. For the man inducted into the army, war is a scene, a situation that motivates the nature of his training; and in mythologies war is an agent, or perhaps better a super-agent, in the figure of the war god.⁶⁵

These terms in the pentad, states Burke, should not be

⁶³Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Communication and Social Order, p. 434.

⁶⁴Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. XXII.

⁶⁵Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 294.

called the necessary "forms of experience," but the necessary "forms of talk about experience."⁶⁶ Burke indicates the completeness of these terms in analyzing motivational influence when he states that ". . . all statements that assign motives can be shown to arise out of them (the five terms of the pentad--scene, act, actor, agency, and purpose) and to terminate in them."⁶⁷

Thus far, this paper has established the fact that the scene, to a degree, determines the quality of the act that will take place in it. Also, the act that is committed will be representative of the agent. This provides evidence that the act is determined by two elements of the pentad acting in concert: the scene and the agent. On the other hand, it was also noted that an actor, through the quality of his act, can change the quality of the scene. To determine the influence of each of the terms of the pentad on the act, a scholar would find it necessary to view the scene and the elements that were circumferential to it. Once the circumference of a scene has been described, an analysis of its contents could be made much more complete than before such an analysis as the scholar would be aware of scenic influences on the remaining four terms of the pentad (actor, agent, agency and purpose). Since no human situation is isolated from the past,

⁶⁶Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 317.

⁶⁷Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. XVIII.

a description of the circumference of the scene will necessarily include an historical development. Such an analysis will take place in the remaining sections of this thesis.

The purpose of this study will be to determine whether the type of oratory employed by Eldridge Cleaver and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., may be subject to critical analysis within the standards of the pentad developed by Kenneth Burke.

Studies based on Kenneth Burke's dramatistic forms have been fundamental to the development of this paper. Three such investigations are reviewed below.

In the article "The Rhetorical Structure of the 'New Left' Movement: Part I," Leland M. Griffin applies Burke's dramatic forms to the rhetoric of the "New Left" in the United States. The author states that the "New American Right" was developed out of opposition to the "Old Left" and it became reasonable to anticipate that a "New Left" would appear. In this analysis, the author interprets "rhetoric" to include both the persuasive utterances and the out-and-out actions of the "New Left." According to Griffin, the scene within which the "New Left" and all other political movements operate is the Cold War.

The founders of the "New Left," believes the author, aimed their oratory primarily at the intellectuals rather than the workers as they saw the intellectual community as the most potent agent of change. The key terms in the vocabulary of this political movement cluster into two groups--

"devil terms" (such as competition, alienation, conformity, absurdity, loneliness, passivity, fear, bondage, hate, anxiety, the welfare state, Holocaust) and "god terms" (such as cooperation, identification, commitment, sanity, community, action, hope, freedom, love, peace, transcendence.)

Griffin states in this article that the "New Left" movement is concerned with how sane, human people should act in the political scene that surrounds them. The author suggests that the Burkeian scene-act ratio would be one method of analyzing political acts committed by the "New Leftists" in the United States (non-rational, non-democratic acts in a non-rational, non-democratic scene). The "New Left," utilizing the channels of mass communication, has suggested that people transcend the Cold War scene through nonconformity, dissociation, and civil disobedience. This method, suggests the author, does not permit the "New Left" to enter public life as the prevailing current of the broad national rhetoric is a rhetoric of non-extremism. That is, the actions of the "New Left" are not representative of the national scene and therefore the scene-act ratio is in imbalance.

The Appendix to Permanence and Change entitled "On Human Behavior Considered 'Dramatistically'" considers how social drama brings order in human relationships. In this study, Burke states that the four basic motives arising in human communication are guilt, redemption, hierarchy, and victimage. Within the social drama there exists "social

mysteries" that determine order and rank within a culture. People, through differences of sex, age, education, wealth, skill, and other conditions of life, become remote and strange to each other and it is this estrangement that Burke defines as "social mystery." All actors in the social scene use such mysteries: the military grants privileges according to rank; members of an organization receive respect according to their respective status within the group. Burke states that the proper educational approach to the mysteries would be the recognition and acceptance of them as inevitable in the formation of social order. The author indicates that the present philosophy of the mysteries is one that leads people to vacillate between mystification and the unmasking of the mysteries. Acceptance of the mysteries would lead to a proper order in human relationships.

Another article which employed the Burkeian pentad is entitled "The Image of the Negro in American Films" by William L. Burke. In this article, the author states that culturally persistent and highly public forms and actions create and sustain attitudes in a society. Thus, the attitudes developed by people reflect definitions that have been found in the cultural scene within which they live. Movies form a part of the background against which people act and are therefore significant in attitudinal development. The creation of an image of the American Negro in the entertainment industry has been influential in forming the attitudes of

white Americans toward black people. The author of this article states that the creation of an image of the American Negro in popular and fine arts has been the job of white men. The image that he created of the Negro in the American theatre cast him in the role of comedian, musician, or dancer. In silent films the Negro was portrayed as a Rastus or Sambo type character. The point to be made here is that the images that the white man came to accept of the Negro were largely those he experienced in entertainment.

In his analysis of "The Image of the Negro in American Films," William Burke employs the dramatistic pentad which has been developed by Kenneth Burke. With this method of analysis, the study sought to classify Negro characters from thirty-eight films into the following categories:

1. Ecstatic--creative, musical, and spontaneous.
2. Savage--giant physical proportions, happily engaged in manual employment, athletics, or welfare.
3. Background--the "invisible man" as menial or bystander.
4. Christian--"spiritual-integrative" nature, bound up with religious symbolism and action, altruistic behavior.
5. Economic--motivated by monetary goals.

The purpose of this study, states William Burke, was to analyze the manner in which films perpetuate and develop culturally acceptable ways of "naming" the Negro. While these films may perpetuate the image of the Negro, the author believes that the image of the American Negro is becoming

somewhat more Christian.

The point made by the author in this article is that the image of the Negro has changed over the period of time in which these thirty-eight films were made. The earlier films displayed the Negro in the image of Background and Savage, while later films incorporated Ecstasy and Christianity. That is, the role of the Negro, especially the Negro male, has changed from one of athlete to jazz musician to one of wise group leader, physician, and self-sacrificing friend. Also, earlier films portrayed the rebellious behavior of the Negro but this has been overcome and more recent films present the "god-like goodness" of the American Negro. This projection of the Negro would then form a portion of the scenic background against which actors in American culture operate.

CHAPTER III

THE TIMES OF KING AND CLEAVER

PART I

There exists evidence today which supports the idea that mankind first came into existence on the continent of Africa. Archaeologists, in defining man, state that Homo sapiens are "tool-using animals" and the oldest tools in the world have been found in the region of Uganda. The exact color of the skin of these people is not known, but it has been established that a Negroid type of man was predominant among a race that developed in the Sudan around 5000 B.C.⁶⁸ In the following centuries, powerful nations began to develop on the continent of Africa and by the middle of the fifteenth century, European trading vessels were a familiar sight along the west coast of the Dark Continent.

From 1472 to the middle of the nineteenth century, under the guns, the diseases, and the exploitive greed of Europeans and Americans, the various African cultures declined, decayed, and finally disappeared. When literate Europeans and Americans--missionaries, explorers, historians, and archaeologists--finally arrived on the African scene, they could find little to connect the semibarbarous African tribes they encountered with the magnificent ruins of forgotten cities over which they

⁶⁸Robert Goldston, The Negro Revolution (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 4.

sometimes stumbled. Surely these ruins and the culture they bespoke must have been the work of other, non-African peoples who have come, built, and vanished in the mists of time. It was hard to believe they could have been produced by the direct ancestors of the tribes they knew. And so the legend of "Darkest Africa"--born in the troubled consciences of traders, conquerors, and slavers who would in any event have been indifferent to the cultures they were destroying--gained a pseudo-scientific respectability which it has only recently lost. There never was a "Darkest Africa"--there was only a darkness in the minds of those who came to enslave and exploit a continent.⁶⁹

For nearly four hundred years, slave traders took nearly fifteen million people from Africa and sailed them to the continents of Europe and North America where they were sold at auction. "But the horrors of the auction block or 'scramble' were as nothing compared to the rigors to which the slaves were exposed after their purchase. Then came the period of three or four months known as 'seasoning.' During that time the slaves were broken to labor discipline and trained to work in the fields and mines. . . . It has been estimated that as many as five percent of the slaves captured in Africa died on their march to the coastal barracoons and that a further thirteen percent died during the Middle Passage. But fully thirty percent died during the process of seasoning."⁷⁰ Thus, nearly fifty percent of the Negroes taken from Africa died before they entered service in the New World. But those who survived the trip across the Atlantic and the first few

⁶⁹Goldston, p. 21.

⁷⁰Goldston, p. 37.

months of "seasoning" still faced the problem of a high mortality rate.

The statistics that are available indicate that the death rate among Negroes has traditionally been much higher than the death rate among whites in the United States. Up to the time of the Civil War, Negro slaves had been cared for by their owners, but during the period of reconstruction the status of the Negro changed. "Ignorant, improvident, and without financial resources, suddenly released from a condition in which they had been cared for by their masters, the Negroes began to show signs of physical deterioration. During the scandalous period of reconstruction and the decade immediately following, the vital statistics of the Negro went from bad to worse."⁷¹ Diseases such as tuberculosis, syphilis, malaria, pellagra and hookworm infested the black population that was losing every third or fourth child before the end of the first year of life.⁷²

Another problem to face the Negro during the reconstruction of the South was that of voting rights. Following the Civil War, there appeared to be a unified black vote which threatened to topple white control in the South. "Faced thus with a determined and cohesive black block, white Southerners fell back on their first line of rapport with black men--

⁷¹S. J. Holmes, The Negro's Struggle for Survival (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1937), p. 39.

⁷²Holmes, p. 39.

violence."⁷³ At the Maxwell House in Nashville, Tennessee, in May, 1867, the Ku Klux Klan was organized and Nathan Bedford Forrest, a former slave-dealer and Confederate general, was appointed as grand wizard. Lerone Bennett, Jr., states in his book, Black Power U.S.A., The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877, that terrorists' organizations, under whatever name, had one fundamental purpose: ". . . the restoration of white control and white domination of black people. Since black power or the possibility of black power stood between white people and the control of the black population, the Klan and other terrorist organizations were organized specifically to destroy black power and create conditions that would make it possible for white men to exploit black men socially, politically, and economically."⁷⁴ The main complaint that the terrorists had against black people was not race, but property. There was a feeling among the terrorists that the government was favoring the poor--black and white--at the expense of the rich and it was for this reason that the Klan was heavily supported by the rich landowners.⁷⁵

Another reason for white domination of the black stated

⁷³Lerone Bennett, Jr., Black Power U.S.A., The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877 (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1967), p. 332.

⁷⁴Lerone Bennett, Jr., Black Power U.S.A., The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877 (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1967), p. 332.

⁷⁵Bennett, Black Power U.S.A., The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877, p. 333.

by Bennett in his book was that the whites wanted to control black labor. Through such control, "Negroes might be made to toe the mark again, to do the bidding of the employer, to come up to time a little more promptly, and do more work than they would otherwise do. It also soon became apparent that in this way the Negroes could be deterred from voting, as they naturally would."⁷⁶

Through such reasoning, the Ku Klux Klan continued to grow and by 1868 Grand Wizard Forrest was claiming that there were more than a half-million members in the organization.⁷⁷ In 1870 the Klan was disbanded only to be revived again in 1915. This time the strength of the organization was felt in both the North and the South.

The heavy demand for labor that resulted from World War I led to a heavy influx of Southern Negroes into the industrial cities of the North. "By 1920 nearly half a million more Negroes were jammed into the rat-infested and teeming Negro ghettos of the North than had lived there in 1910, and most of them were new arrivals. They competed for housing and services with poor white workers, and, after the war, for jobs. The wretched conditions under which both black and white laborers lived in Northern cities, combined with

⁷⁶Bennett, Black Power U.S.A., The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877, p. 336.

⁷⁷Bennett, Black Power U.S.A., The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877, p. 339.

the tensions of new competition, were at the root of the race riots."⁷⁸

The postwar economic recession further reduced the income potential of many Negroes. Government purchasing slowed down and returning soldiers flooded the labor market. Even the market for domestic employment that had traditionally been open to the Negro abated because of increased production of appliances designed to lessen household work.

The reaction of Negro leaders to decreasing employment security among black people, terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, and a lack of representation in governmental affairs, brought about an organization known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or N. A. A. C. P. This group appears to have been brought to life by an organization known as the Niagara Movement.

In 1905, William E. B. DuBois brought twenty-nine Negro leaders together and established what became known as the Niagara Movement. This group met for five years but found itself in financial difficulty as most economic support for Negro advancement at that time went to Booker T. Washington. In 1910 the Niagara Movement disbanded, but from its short life sprang a much more important organization; the N. A. A. C. P.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Goldston, p. 173.

⁷⁹Goldston, p. 164.

In May, 1910, the N. A. A. C. P. was formed and a Boston attorney, Moorfield Story, was elected its first president. The initial membership was small, but its monthly publication, the Crises which was edited by DuBois, had a circulation of thirty-five thousand by 1914.⁸⁰ The aims of the organization were "To achieve, through peaceful and lawful means, equal membership rights for all American citizens by eliminating segregation and discrimination in housing, employment, voting, schools, the courts, transportation and recreation."⁸¹ Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., in his book, Negro Political Leadership in the South, states that in the mid-nineteen forties ". . . the N. A. A. C. P. had a monopoly of Negro 'radicalism'--radicalism meaning little more than keeping the flag of protest flying in the South while the slow assault on discriminations went on in the courts. Today, the Association is under attack for its 'moderate and legalistic' approach to race relations."⁸² Mr. Ladd made this statement in 1966 when the NAACP membership had grown to be in excess of 240,000 and its income was claimed to be over \$1,000,000 a year.⁸³ Thus, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

⁸⁰Goldston, p. 164.

⁸¹The Negro Handbook, compiled by the editors of Ebony (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1966), p. 92.

⁸²Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., Negro Political Leadership in the South (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 46.

⁸³The Negro Handbook, p. 92.

would be considered one of the first large organizations aimed at attaining the civil rights of the American Negro. Many prominent Negro leaders were to become associated with the N. A. A. C. P., but few gained the recognition of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dr. King was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 15, 1927. His father, who had been the son of a Georgia share-cropper, left the plantation and headed for Atlanta. While in Atlanta, the elder King completed high school and continued his education at Morehouse College. While a college student, King, Sr., branched out to the ministry and pastored two small Atlanta churches. During this time, King, Sr., met Alberta Williams, the daughter of A. D. Williams who was the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church. In 1931, Reverend Williams died and Martin Luther King, Sr., became the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church. Both Reverends Williams and King, Sr., were active in Negro resistance movements ". . . which grew out of and reflected the violent struggles of slave rebels . . ." ⁸⁴

Negro preachers, men made in the image of King the elder and his father-in-law, were pivotally successful in molding the leadership tradition of this movement, a tradition that stressed lyrical and somewhat effulgent oratory and a cautious, "realistic" approach to the problems of a racial minority which lacked absolute initiative vis-a-vis their oppressors and had to attack therefore with tact and with caution. The limitations of this tradition, its inarticulation with the great masses of Negroes and its reliance on the good will and

⁸⁴Lerone Bennett, Jr., What Manner of Man Martin Luther King, Jr., (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1964), p. 10.

generosity of the oppressors, were, in part, a reflection of the Negro situation, a situation defined by powerlessness. Crucial to an understanding of the leadership heritage Martin Luther King, Jr., inherited--and expanded--is an understanding not of love but of a brute fact of power: minority status maintained by the implacable will of a majority which controlled--and controls--all the lines of force.⁸⁵

Because of his church connections and financial interests, Martin Luther King, Sr., was considered to be a member of the ruling elite of Atlanta's Negro community. Reverend King reared his family in a large two-story house surrounded by some of the largest Negro-owned businesses in the United States. Martin Luther King, Jr., along with his older sister, Christine, and his younger brother, Alfred Daniel, was raised in comfortable middle-class surroundings. "It was a secure world. King's childhood, unlike the childhood of millions of other American Negroes, was marked by order, balance, and restraint: Sunday School, church, BYPU on Sunday, playtime in or near the house on weekdays, an afternoon job throwing papers (not necessarily for money but for discipline and training), early to bed, early to rise. Days began and ended in the King home with family prayers, and King and his brother and sister were required to learn Bible verses for recitation at evening meals."⁸⁶

King entered public schools in 1935, later transferred

⁸⁵ Bennett, What Manner of Man Martin Luther King, Jr., p. 10.

⁸⁶ Bennett, What Manner of Man Martin Luther King, Jr., p. 18.

to a private laboratory school at Atlanta University and finally entered Booker T. Washington High School where he was considered a model student. He skipped several grades and went through high school in two years which allowed him to enter Morehouse College at the age of fifteen. While a student at Morehouse, Dr. King came into contact with Dr. Benjamin Mays, the president of the college, and Dr. George Kelsey, professor of philosophy and religion. Both men were ministers and through them Dr. King came to realize what religion meant to the Negro: it ". . . provided a safety valve against insanity or outright rebellion. Along with this deepened understanding came the quest for a special philosophy and eventually the formation of his ideas on social protest. King concluded that only in the ministry could he pursue these expanding theories."⁸⁷

Dr. King graduated from Morehouse at the age of nineteen and entered Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania. He was the first Negro to be elected the president of the student body at Crozer and was the winner of an award which proclaimed him to be the seminary's most outstanding student and the recipient of a fellowship to study for a Ph.D. at Boston University.

While studying at Crozer, King came across the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Of Gandhi's teachings, Dr. King came

⁸⁷George R. Metcalf, Black Profiles (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968), p. 6.

to say that "As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi, my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom."⁸⁸

King's policy of nonviolence gained national and world prominence during the bus boycott that took place in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955 and 1956. Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, boarded a bus in downtown Montgomery, took a seat in the middle of the bus, and refused to relinquish her seat to white passengers. The bus was stopped and the driver had Mrs. Parks arrested. She was taken to jail and news of the incident reached E. D. Nixon, a former president of Alabama's N. A. A. C. P. Nixon heralded Negro leaders throughout the city and Dr. King joined the group to help free Mrs. Parks. The leaders decided to approach the situation through a policy of nonviolence which resulted in a bus boycott by the Negroes in Montgomery. The strike lasted twelve and one-half months and was terminated by a Supreme Court decision which ordered Montgomery's buses desegregated.

The success with which this boycott met fostered Dr. King's image as a propagator of nonviolence. People knew that King had been jailed twelve times, his home had been

⁸⁸Metcalfe, pp. 7-8.

bombed during the Montgomery bus boycott, and that he had been stabbed and constantly threatened while continuing to respond nonviolently. "Negro clergymen, heartened by King's success, began to join the front ranks of the civil rights movement. In 1956 they founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and elected Martin Luther King its president. Soon the new organization had dozens of affiliates and scores of workers throughout the South. And Martin Luther King became the most popular of the new Negro leaders."⁸⁹

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.) revolves around two main points: ". . . the use of non-violent philosophy as a means of creative protest; and securing the right of the ballot for every citizen."⁹⁰ Through such methods, this organization aims at helping the Negro achieve full citizenship rights, equality and integration into all aspects of the American life. "The basic tenets of Hebraic-Christian tradition coupled with the Gandhian concept of satyagraha--truth force--is at the heart of S.C.L.C.'s philosophy."⁹¹ This approach, according to Dr. King, is designed, not to humiliate the opponent, but to win him over.

⁸⁹Goldston, pp. 207-208.

⁹⁰Negro Political Thought in the Twentieth Century, ed. Francis L. Broderick and August Meier (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), p. 269.

⁹¹Negro Political Thought in the Twentieth Century, p. 269.

"The true nonviolent resister presents his physical body as an instrument to defeat the system. Through nonviolent mass direct action, the evil system is creatively dramatized in order that the conscience of the community may grapple with the rightness or wrongness of the issue at hand . . ."⁹² One form of this nonviolent, direct action made by S.C.L.C. is their voter-registration drives which encourage Negroes to cast ballots for candidates who are sympathetic to their causes.

In the area of civil disobedience, the S.C.L.C. encourages Negroes to break laws that are binding only on a minority or laws that ". . . are out of harmony with the moral law of the universe, or, as the religionist would say, out of harmony with the Law of God."⁹³ In breaking "unjust" laws, the Conference states that this must be done in a peaceful, open, and nonviolent manner. But most important, the violator is expected to accept the penalty for breaking the law. "This distinguishes S.C.L.C.'s position on civil disobedience from the 'uncivil disobedience' of the racist opposition in the South. In the face of laws they consider unjust, they seek to defy, evade, and circumvent the law, but they are

⁹²Negro Political Thought in the Twentieth Century, p. 270.

⁹³Negro Political Thought in the Twentieth Century, p. 271.

unwilling to accept the penalty for breaking the law."⁹⁴

Though the Conference encourages breaking unjust laws, it also recognizes the need for a constructive program within its philosophy. Francis L. Broaderick and August Meier note in their book, Negro Protest and Thought in the Twentieth Century, that the S.C.L.C. works on two fronts. "On the one hand, it resists continuously the system of segregation which is the basic cause of lagging standards; on the other hand, it works constructively to improve the standards themselves. There must be a balance between attacking the causes and healing the effects of segregation."⁹⁵

The ultimate aim of S.C.L.C. is to foster and create the "beloved community" in America where brotherhood is a reality. It rejects any doctrine of black supremacy for this merely substitutes one kind of tyranny for another. The Conference does not foster moving the Negro from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage for this would thereby subvert justice. S.C.L.C. works for integration. Our ultimate goal is genuine inter-group and interpersonal living--integration. Only through nonviolence can reconciliation and the creation of the beloved community be effected. The international focus on America and her internal problems against the dread prospect of a hot war, demand our seeking this end.⁹⁶

Thus, the Conference called upon all Negroes to assert their human dignity and to refuse to cooperate with laws that were morally unjust. The Negro, according to the S.C.L.C.,

⁹⁴Negro Political Thought in the Twentieth Century, p. 271.

⁹⁵Negro Political Thought in the Twentieth Century, p. 272.

⁹⁶Negro Political Thought in the Twentieth Century, pp. 272-273.

had to ". . . accept Christian love in full knowledge of its power to defy evil. We call upon them to understand that non-violence is not a symbol of weakness or cowardice, but as Jesus demonstrated, nonviolent resistance transforms weakness into strength and breeds courage in the face of danger."⁹⁷

King's efforts did not go unrecognized by those outside of the black community. Time, the weekly news magazine, selected King as the "Man of the Year" in 1963. The magazine stated that King was selected ". . . as a man--but also as the representative of his people, for whom 1963 was perhaps the most important year in their history."⁹⁸ Just a year later, King was given the Nobel Peace Prize by the Swedish Parliament who stated that King was nominated because he ". . . had succeeded in keeping his followers to the principle of nonviolence. . . . Without King's confirmed effectiveness . . . demonstrations and marches could easily have become violent and ended with the spilling of blood."⁹⁹ Ultimately, Reverend King was overcome by the thing he fought hardest against--violence--and his life was ended on April 4, 1968 by an assassin. The death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assessed in various ways, but it was probably the editors of

⁹⁷ Bennett, What Manner of Man Martin Luther King, Jr., p. 82.

⁹⁸ Bennett, What Manner of Man Martin Luther King, Jr., p. 198.

⁹⁹ Bennett, What Manner of Man Martin Luther King, Jr., pp. 198-99.

Ramparts magazine that best represented the views of Negro militants.

In an article from Ramparts entitled "The Execution of Dr. King," the editors of this magazine stated that King had been the victim of powerful political and labor union leaders. American labor leaders, Hubert Humphrey, congressmen, Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, and Lyndon Johnson. . .

. . . collectively had the power to implement Dr. King's eloquent and just demands for the Negro, thus making a nonviolent course possible in America's black revolution. But they never even fulfilled their own nominal promises, and wound up opposing King on the grounds that his demands were too extreme or that he wanted them implemented too quickly; thus they forced him onto the streets under the gunsights of the mad, racist whites who, inevitably executed him. It was not just one white man who killed Martin Luther King. The murder was a leadership scurvy with its own political disease; the murderer was White America, gone functionally mad from decades of trying to rationalize its own racial, economic and social depravity.¹⁰⁰

The editors of Ramparts did not believe that King, unlike many civil rights moderates, held the militants in contempt. Rather, Ramparts' editors suggested that King blamed the inaction of many moderates for the aggressive actions of the militants. This can be seen in the following quotation from Dr. King which the editors of Ramparts considered to be his "fundamental mission."

As I have walked among the desperate, rejected and angry young men (in the Northern ghettos), I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest

¹⁰⁰"The Execution of Dr. King," Ramparts, May, 1968, p. 47.

compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action. But they asked, what about Vietnam? They asked if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the government of violence in the world today--my own government.¹⁰¹

This article appeared in the May, 1968, issue of Ramparts and was placed there by the editors of that publication. Included on the editorial staff of Ramparts at that time was Eldridge Cleaver, a Negro militant and author. Cleaver was born in 1935 in Wabbaseka, Arkansas, a small town near Little Rock. At the time of Cleaver's birth, his parents were on the verge of a breakthrough into the southern black middle class. His mother, Thelma Cleaver, taught elementary grades in a school that Eldridge Cleaver referred to as an "utterly inadequate 'separate but equal' school."¹⁰² Leroy Cleaver, the father of Eldridge, was a pianist in 1935, but soon became a dining-car waiter on the Santa Fe Super Chief--"a job that in those days was a stepping-stone to the black bourgeoisie."¹⁰³ In order to keep his family together, the elder Cleaver moved the household to Phoenix, Arizona, which was to be one of the drop-off-points on his railroad route.

¹⁰¹"The Execution of Dr. King," p. 47.

¹⁰²Don A. Schanche, "Burn the Mother Down," The Saturday Evening Post, November 16, 1968, p. 65.

¹⁰³Schanche, p. 65.

The family remained in Phoenix for almost two years and then moved to California. Marital problems forced a separation between the Cleavers and Thelma Cleaver took Eldridge to Los Angeles where she became a janitress in the Abraham Lincoln Junior High School. It was in this junior high school that Eldridge Cleaver first became involved with law authorities.

The Abraham Lincoln Junior High School drew students from Rose Hills, an ethnically mixed neighborhood that was known then as the marijuana capital of California. During his years in junior high school, Cleaver was convicted for burglary and petty theft and served his term in the Fred. C. Nelles School for Boys at Whittier, California. Here he learned how to sell narcotics and only a few months after his release from the boys school, he was convicted of a narcotics charge. In 1953, Cleaver was sent to the Preston School of Industry for selling narcotics. After completing his term at Preston, he was released, but an arrest for possession of marijuana ended his freedom. No longer a juvenile, he was sent to Soledad prison where he served a two and one-half year prison sentence. His release from Soledad was short lived as he was soon convicted of assault with intent to murder and sentenced to one to fourteen years. He served nine years of this sentence in Folsom state prison before being paroled.

While Cleaver was serving his term at Folsom, he started to analyze the role of the Negro in American social structure. He read widely and attended the prison courses of

instruction. Much of his reading centered around the writings of Malcom X, who, to Cleaver, was a "spokesman of the oppressed."¹⁰⁴ The writings of Malcom X sought to establish brotherhood between blacks and whites which was in direct opposition to the writings of Elijah Muhammad. Muhammad's philosophy included separatism between the black and white races and the establishment of a separate black community wherein Negroes would be free economically, politically and socially. Cleaver aligned himself with Malcom X as he considered ". . . the onus of teaching racial supremacy and hate, which is the white man's burden, is pretty hard to bear."¹⁰⁵ When Malcom X was killed on June 19, 1965, Cleaver ". . . was even more firmly convinced that Malcom had been going the right way."¹⁰⁶

Throughout his term at Folsom, Cleaver had written essays and reflections on his personal life and political beliefs. Late in 1965, he succeeded in getting his writings to Edward M. Keating who was then the editor and owner of Ramparts magazine. Keating was impressed by Cleaver's articles and sent them to a number of recognized writers and social critics such as Norman Mailer and Maxwell Geismar. They responded favorably to the works of Cleaver and plans

¹⁰⁴Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1968), p. 35.

¹⁰⁵Cleaver, Soul on Ice, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶Schanche, p. 66.

were made to publish his book, Soul on Ice. Cleaver's book almost immediately became a best seller. This was the first event that led the public to notice Eldridge Cleaver. The book was published in February of 1968, and the following March another event took place that eventually led to further notoriety for the black militant.

Following Keating's acceptance of Soul on Ice, Cleaver came into contact with the Black Panther leader, Huey P. Newton. Cleaver was so impressed with Newton's revolutionary courage that he decided to join the Panther organization. The Panthers were a group of militant blacks who patrolled the streets of ghettos in Oakland, California, armed with guns and law books to assure Negroes of their rights when they became the objects of police harassment. Just two months after the publication of Soul on Ice, Cleaver was involved in a gun battle with the Black Panthers and the Oakland Police Department. Bobby Hutton, a close Panther associate of Cleaver, was killed in the confrontation. The incident was publicized throughout the United States and, once again, Eldridge Cleaver was the object of much public attention. Following this incident, Cleaver became the minister of information for the Black Panther party for Self Defense and was soon hired as one of the editors of Ramparts magazine. From these two positions of authority, Cleaver was allowed to publicize his personal philosophy and the principles of the Black Panther organization.

Cleaver joined the Black Panthers as the ethics propagated by them seemed to coincide with his personal prejudices. "Once thought of as not much more than a handful of petty desperadoes in black spectacles, berets and leather jackets, more poseurs than effective militants, the Black Panthers have been thrust into a position of influence among black power nationalists."¹⁰⁷ The group became prominent in the San Francisco Bay area in 1966 and was founded principally by college dropouts. They elected to use the panther as their symbol because the ". . . panther never attacks first. But once he is attacked he will respond viciously and wipe out the aggressor thoroughly, wholly, absolutely, and completely."¹⁰⁸ The group was founded to protect Negroes from unjust police action, but their efforts were soon expanded to cover a much wider area. The Black Panthers have been described as the . . .

one cohesive black militant organization deliberately reaching out to link whites to their cause. Their first white association was with the radical fringe, when they made common electoral cause with the Peace and Freedom Party. But recent events in California have projected their reach beyond this limited alliance to a considerable portion of white students and faculty. The drive for greater representation of blacks in university and college, in which the Panthers are active, has made many more young whites aware of black protest, sympathetic to its goals and involved in battling for them.¹⁰⁹

Evidences of racism, according to Cleaver, are absent

¹⁰⁷ Mary Ellen Leary, "The Uproar Over Cleaver," The New Republic, November 30, 1968, p. 21.

¹⁰⁸ Leary, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ Leary, p. 22.

from the Panther philosophy. On the question of integration and separation, Cleaver states that the "Black Panther party doesn't advocate either one. We (the Panthers) feel that it is irrelevant."¹¹⁰ The ultimate goal of the Black Panthers, believes Cleaver, is to unite the black community in order that Negro opinions will be heard. The Panthers want ". . . to see a situation where, in every issue pertaining to social structure as a whole, that the opinions and will of black people must be brought into consideration."¹¹¹

Huey P. Newton, a Black Panther leader, once explained the purpose of the Panther party. According to Newton, the Panthers are ". . . going to talk about black people arming themselves in a political fashion to exert organized force in the political arena to see to it that their desires and needs are met. Otherwise there will be a political consequence and the only culture worth talking about is a revolutionary culture. (The Panthers) . . . are going to talk about political power growing out of the barrel of a gun."¹¹²

Eldridge Cleaver realizes that armed power alone is insufficient weaponry against the racist system he is seeking to revolutionize. Even if Cleaver enlists all twenty-two

¹¹⁰"The Radicals: Are They Poles Apart," Look, XXXIII, January 7, 1969, p. 35.

¹¹¹"The Radicals: Are They Poles Apart," p. 38.

¹¹²Eldridge Cleaver, "A Letter From Jail," Ramparts, June, 1968, p. 20.

million Negroes living in the United States, his revolution has little hope of success against the one hundred and eighty million remaining Americans. He must attempt to unify the blacks and recruit white Americans to join the civil rights cause as well. This problem is not unique to Cleaver. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., also, was confronted with the problem of unifying and motivating his constituency. The persuasive appeals that each of these men employed in inducing an audience to act in a concerted effort toward integrating the Negro into American social structure will constitute PART II of this chapter.

PART II

Scene--analysis of occasion and audience

"I Have a Dream"

In June, 1963, in a speech entitled "We Face a Moral Crisis," President John F. Kennedy reacted to the jailing of Reverend Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr., the murder of the Baltimore mailcarrier, William Moore, and the effort of Governor George Wallace to defy a federal court order requiring the University of Alabama to admit Negro students. In this speech, Kennedy stated that "It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants, and theatres and retail stores without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street."¹¹³ Kennedy emphasized that through segregated schools and inadequate educations, the Negro suffers a loss which can never be restored. It was for these reasons that Kennedy asked "the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law."¹¹⁴ In the same month, President Kennedy sent a comprehensive civil rights

¹¹³The Struggle for Racial Equality, ed. Henry Steele Commager (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967), p. 164.

¹¹⁴The Struggle for Racial Equality, p. 166.

bill to Congress. The March on Washington that took place in the summer of 1963, was in support of Kennedy's civil rights bill.

On August 28, 1963, Negro leaders such as Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Martin Luther King were joined by two hundred thousand Americans, some sixty thousand of them white, who converged on the nation's capital to encourage the passage of the new Civil Rights measure. The March was sponsored by such groups as the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Council, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. "Representatives of labor unions stood beside college students, housewives marched alongside veterans' organizations--a mighty and impressive cross section of America gathered at the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to hear speeches and to affirm, by its presence, that the time had come to give meaning to the promise of American democracy."¹¹⁵

Standing now at the peak of his career, a Newsweek magazine survey published July 29, 1963, revealed that Dr. King received an eighty-eight percent favorable rating from the Negro masses and a ninety-five percent favorable response from

¹¹⁵Goldston, pp. 216-17.

one hundred leaders reviewed in the sample.¹¹⁶ The following month, King addressed the crowds gathered at the March on Washington with a speech entitled "I Have a Dream." The speech is praised by many as the most eloquent oration in King's career.¹¹⁷ A New York Times correspondent stated that this speech, delivered on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, "ignited the crowd with words that might have been written by the sad, brooding man enshrined within the memorial."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶Lerone Bennett, Jr., What Manner of Man Martin Luther King, Jr., p. 157.

¹¹⁷Lerone Bennett, Jr., What Manner of Man, p. 158.

¹¹⁸The Civil Rights Reader, ed. Leon Friedman (New York: Walker and Company, 1968), p. 110.

"I Have a Dream"

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering justice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.

But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation's Capitol to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note in which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check--a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real promises of Democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an

invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the Nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "when will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana,

go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, and rough places will be made plains, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

And if America is to be a great nation this must

become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado!

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California!

But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain in Georgia!

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain in Tennessee!

Let freedom ring from every hill and mole hill in Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up the day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! free at last! thank God almighty, we are free at last!"

Act-Purpose

In the first chapter of this thesis it was stated that rhetoric may be defined as "the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols." The following discussion will be an analysis of the type of cooperation that this author believes Dr. King hoped to induce in his audience.

The principal message of this speech seems to be King's "dream" for America. In five separate passages, the author relates the contents of this dream to his audience and in each case the message is aimed at an end, rather than the means which should be employed to achieve that end. That is, instead of discussing tactics, this speech seems to be an obvious effort on the part of Dr. King to imbue his audience with his goal. Although the speech may have increased morale within the civil rights movement, it left King susceptible to the criticism of events. The dream of Martin Luther King was not to become a reality quickly as less than three weeks after the March on Washington, four Negro girls were killed and twenty-one people were injured when a bomb was placed in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama.

A second rhetorical aspect of this speech to be discussed concerns King's use of the special aspect "happiness." This particular oration stresses that the result of non-violent protest will be the realization of a truly democratic

society within the United States where blacks and whites will live in "a beautiful symphony of brotherhood." The development of the special aspect of happiness seems to be based on what King believes to be "good" for his audience, rather than apparent "advantages." He does not forthrightly discuss what role the Negro will fill in an egalitarian society or what benefits the blacks will receive; instead, Dr. King stresses the scene that will evolve when Americans treat all other Americans as equals. Thus, he stresses the qualitative value of the integrated society.

There appears to be only one category in which this speech does not fulfill the principles of deliberative oratory. On the surface it appears that the qualitative appeal made by King was not an attempt to induce out-and-out action from his audience, but to persuade his listeners to develop an attitude similar to his own. An appeal such as this, according to Dr. Kenneth Burke, is indicative of a scene where the actions of a man are restricted. However, this does not appear to be entirely true when the circumference of the scene is widened to include the fact that King was speaking at an occasion which was designed to induce action from congressmen rather than the crowd assembled in front of the Lincoln Memorial. This appears to be the case as Robert Goldston stated in his book, The Negro Revolution, that "It was in support of . . . (the civil rights bill) . . . that the great

March on Washington took place on August 28, 1963."¹¹⁹ Thus, King appears to have been persuading senators and representatives to act while he induced his audience to accept a positive attitude toward the nonviolent form of protest.

All information seems to indicate that King was speaking to two audiences; those assembled for the March and the senators and representatives who possessed the political power to insure passage of the civil rights reform. The principal object of his discourse, however, must have been to persuade congressmen to act (pass the civil rights legislation that Kennedy had proposed) as that was the goal of the meeting which King was attending. The congressmen did not have to be told the steps to take in integrating American society as King knew that Kennedy's civil rights bill included measures designed to insure that end. Also, King did not have to persuade Congress that there was considerable support behind legislation favoring integration as two hundred thousand marchers offered evidence of that. Therefore, King concentrated on a discussion of what benefits would be derived from the passage of the civil rights bill and in this manner he attempted to persuade political leaders to give the bill their approval. That is, his speech was designed to persuade men to select his proposition and motivate them to act by voting the bill into law. Thus, the speech "I Have a Dream" appears

¹¹⁹Goldston, p. 214.

to fit into the category of deliberative discourse as it employs the special aspect of happiness, it is designed to persuade men to select a proposition on the basis of the "goodness" of the measure, it is directed at the future, and it solicits action from men in the Congress.

Scene--analysis of occasion and audience

"Where Do We Go From Here?"

The second rhetorical appeal of Dr. King to be analyzed, "Where Do We Go From Here?", is an essay which appears in his book, Stride Toward Freedom. In the text of this book, Dr. King reiterates the story of Montgomery's bus boycott conducted by the Negroes of that city. The contents of this story reveal what took place when fifty thousand Negroes decided to boycott the public transportation system of Montgomery rather than submit to the discourtesies and humiliation of segregated busses. In a nonviolent fashion, the Negroes, led by Martin Luther King, conducted their strike and at the end of the twelve and one-half month ordeal a federal court order was released requiring integration of Montgomery's bus system. Stride Toward Freedom is a chronicle of the "Negroes who took to heart the principles of nonviolence, who learned to fight for their rights with the weapon of love, and who, in the process, acquired a new estimate of their own human worth."¹²⁰ In the final chapter of this book, "Where Do We Go From Here?", Dr. King structures a solution to the crisis which has evolved from segregating minority groups in the United States. The audience to which Dr. King directed his remarks is made obvious in the text of this chapter as he

¹²⁰ Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 9.

named the groups to which his appeal was made: the federal government, white Northern liberals, moderates of the white south, the labor movement, the church and its ministers, and the Negro community. The following is an outline of that appeal.

"Where Do We Go From Here?"

- I. If America is to respond creatively to the present crisis, many groups and agencies must take an active part in changing the face of this nation.
 - A. There is a need for strong and aggressive leadership from the federal government.
 1. If the executive and legislative branches were as concerned about the protection of the citizenship rights of all people as the federal courts have been, the transition from a segregated to an integrated society would be much further along than it is today.
 2. Both the Democratic and Republican parties have lagged in establishing a positive commitment toward civil rights.
 3. Southern states abrogate power when it involves distasteful responsibilities and so, by default, the federal government is obligated to accept these responsibilities.
 - B. Another group with vital role to play in the present crisis is the white Northern liberals.
 1. The racial issue that we confront in America is not a sectional but a national problem as injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.
 2. There is a pressing need for a liberalism in the North which is truly liberal, a liberalism that firmly believes in integration in its own community as well as in the Deep South.
 3. It is one thing to agree that the goal of integration is morally and legally right; it is another thing to commit oneself positively and actively to the ideal of integration.
 4. The Northern liberal should not be so bent on seeing all sides that he fails to become dedicated to any side as this will be used as an excuse for indecisiveness.
 - C. A significant role, in this tense period of transition, is assigned to the moderates of the white South.
 1. Segregation has placed the whole South socially, educationally, and economically behind the rest of the nation.
 2. Many people in the South are quiet because they fear social, political, and economic reprisals if they speak in favor of integration.
 - a. In the name of God, in the interest of human dignity, and for the cause of democracy these millions of people are called upon to gird their courage, to speak out, and to offer the leadership that is needed.

- b. The Southern Negro wants to build a freer, happier land with those whites who have not yet joined the civil rights cause.
 - 3. This hour represents a great opportunity for the white moderates, if they will speak the truth, obey the law, and suffer if necessary for what they know is right.
- D. Still another agency of effective change today is the labor movement.
 - 1. Trade unions are engaged in a struggle to advance the economic welfare of those American citizens whose wages are their livelihood.
 - 2. The organized labor movement, which has contributed so much to the economic security and well-being of millions, must concentrate its powerful forces on bringing economic emancipation to white and Negro by organizing them together in social equality.
- E. The church, too, must face its historic obligation in this crisis.
 - 1. It has always been the responsibility of the church to broaden horizons, challenge the status quo, and break the mores when necessary; thus, the task of conquering segregation is an inescapable must confronting the church today.
 - 2. There are several specific things that the church can do.
 - a. It should try to get to the ideational roots of racial hate and show that Negroes are not an inferior race, that the idea of a superior or inferior race is a myth, and that Negroes, when given equal opportunities, can demonstrate equal achievement.
 - b. The church can also do a great deal to reveal the true intentions of the Negro--that he is not seeking to dominate the nation, but simply wants the right to live as a first-class citizen, with all the responsibilities that good citizenship entails.
 - c. The church can also help by mitigating the prevailing and irrational fears concerning intermarriage.
 - d. Another thing that the church can do to make the principle of brotherhood a reality is to keep men's minds and visions centered on God.
 - e. A further effort that the church can make in attempting to solve the race problem is to take the lead in social reform.
 - (1) The church must remove the yoke of segregation from its own body.

- (2) The church must seek to keep channels of communication open between the Negro and white community.
 - (3) Religious institutions must take an active stand against the injustice that Negroes confront in housing, education, police protection, and in city and state courts.
 - (4) The church must exert its influence in the area of economic justice.
- 3. Every minister of the gospel has an obligation to become actively involved in the struggle for civil rights.
 - a. In every Southern city there should be inter-racial ministerial associations in which Negro and white ministers can come together in Christian fellowship and discuss common community problems.
 - b. Ministers can also collectively call for compliance with the law and a cessation of violence.
- F. Finally, the Negro himself has a decisive role to play if integration is to become a reality.
 - 1. The Negro must not accept the state of oppression, but take direct action against injustice without waiting for the government to act or a majority to agree with him or a court to rule in his favor.
 - 2. Negroes should not resort to physical violence to gain equality as violent action never leads to permanent peace, but merely creates more complicated problems.
 - 3. The method of nonviolent resistance does not require the oppressor or the oppressed to resort to violence to right a wrong.
 - a. The method of nonviolent resistance will allow the Negro to rise to the noble height of opposing the system while loving the perpetrators of the system.
 - b. Nonviolent resistance makes it possible for the Negro to remain in the South and struggle for his rights.
 - c. Through nonviolent resistance, the Negro can also enlist all men of good will in his struggle for equality.
 - 4. The Negro must convince the white man that he does not seek reprisal for past policies of segregation, but rather he seeks justice for both himself and the white man.
 - 5. The Negro must learn to say to his white oppressors: 'We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force.'

We will not hate you, but we cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws. Do to us what you will and we will still love you. Bomb our homes and threaten our children; send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities and drag us out on some wayside road, beating us and leaving us half dead, and we will still love you. But we will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process.'

- II. The Negro should learn the fundamentals of the nonviolent approach and with this philosophy he will change the attitudes of Americans just as Mahatma Gandhi changed the attitudes of the British through a nonviolent approach.
 - A. Nonviolence requires noncooperation with evil and cooperation with the constructive forces of good.
 - B. Through the cooperative aspects of nonviolence, the Negro must get to work on a program with a broad range of positive goals.
 1. The Negro must plan to improve his own economic lot through habits of thrift and techniques of wise investment.
 2. Negro leaders must arouse their people from their apathetic indifference and actively campaign to register black voters.
 3. The constructive program must include vigorous attempts to improve the Negro's personal standards.
 - a. The Negro crime rate is far too high.
 - b. The level of cleanliness among Negroes is far too low.
 - c. Negroes in the middle class live above their means, spend money on nonessentials and frivolities, and fail to give to serious causes, organizations, and educational institutions that so desperately need funds.
 4. Through community agencies and religious institutions, Negro leaders must develop a positive program through which Negro youth can become adjusted to urban living and improve their general level of behavior.
 5. Since crime often grows out of a sense of futility and despair, Negro parents must be urged to give their children the love, attention, and sense of belonging that a segregated society deprives them of.

Dr. King closed this chapter with a call to action.

This then must be our present program: Nonviolent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means going to jail; and imaginative, bold, constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation, inferior schools, slums, and second-class citizenship. The nonviolent struggle, if conducted with the dignity and courage already shown by the people of Montgomery and the children of Little Rock, will in itself help end the demoralization; but a new frontal assault on the poverty, disease, and ignorance of a people too long ignored by America's conscience will make victory more certain.

In short, we must work on two fronts. On the one hand, we must continue to resist the system of segregation which is the basic cause of our lagging standards; on the other hand we must work constructively to improve the standards themselves. There must be a rhythmic alternation between attacking the causes and healing the effects.

This is a great hour for the Negro. The challenge is here. To become the instruments of a great idea is a privilege that history gives only occasionally. Arnold Toynbee says in A Study of History that it may be the Negro who will give the new spiritual dynamic to Western civilization that it so desperately needs to survive. I hope this is possible. The spiritual power that the Negro can radiate to this world comes from love, understanding, good will, and nonviolence. It may even be possible for the Negro, through adherence to nonviolence, so to challenge the nations of the world that they will seriously seek an alternative to war and destruction. In a day when Sputniks and Explorers dash through outer space and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death through the stratosphere, nobody can win a war. Today the choice is no longer between violence and nonviolence. It is either nonviolence or nonexistence. The Negro may be God's appeal to this age--an age drifting rapidly to its doom. The eternal appeal takes the form of a warning: "All who take the sword will perish by the sword."

Act-Purpose

The first speech analyzed in this section, "I Have a Dream," stressed the goal of the nonviolent movement that Dr. King was conducting in America. That is, it was organized to inform the audience of the product which would result from nonviolent protest conducted with dignity and based on the principle of love for the opponent. The second rhetorical appeal by King to be analyzed, "Where Do We Go From Here?", emphasized two areas of his philosophy; first, that there are many groups and agencies that must actively participate in the civil rights movement; second, the method of creative, nonviolent protest should be carefully considered.

In this address, Dr. King requested the help of six groups: the federal government, white Northern liberals, moderates of the white South, the labor movement, the church and its ministers, and the Negro community. In each case he assigned areas in which each of these agencies could most actively and constructively participate in his movement to integrate American society. The appeals that Dr. King made in this selection suggest that he was soliciting direct action from the organizations that he made reference to in this chapter. He called for these agencies to act in the following manner:

1. Federal government--Southern states have failed to act on civil rights measures, so by default, the federal government is obligated to accept these responsibilities.

2. White Northern liberals--These people must believe in integration for their own community as well as the Deep South and they must commit themselves actively to the ideal of integration.
3. Moderates of the white South--In the name of God, in the interest of human dignity, and for the cause of democracy these millions of people are called upon to gird their courage, to speak out, and to offer the leadership that is needed.
4. Labor movement--This organization must concentrate its powerful forces on bringing economic emancipation to white and Negro by organizing them together socially.
5. Church and ministers--It has always been the responsibility of the church to broaden horizons, challenge the status quo, and break the mores when necessary; thus, the task of conquering segregation is an inescapable must confronting the church today. Ministers can also collectively call for compliance with the law and a cessation of violence.
6. Negroes--Negroes must not accept the state of oppression, but actively seek to better themselves economically, politically and socially.

Each of these appeals requires action on the part of the audience; thus, these appeals would fit the category of Kenneth Burke's "persuasion to action" rather than "persuasion to attitude." This is the first indication that Dr. King's address would be classified as deliberative oratory.

Another area of investigation that is indicative of the deliberative nature of this address can be found in King's obvious efforts to persuade his audience to select a proposition and act on the basis of it. Corbett, in his book, Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student, stated that epideictic oratory "differs from deliberative discourse in that its primary object is to praise or censure someone, not

to persuade men to do or not to do something." Thus, deliberative oratory seeks to persuade men to commit an out-and-out action. The method by which Dr. King induces his audience to select his proposition is based on a logical appeal. Evidence of this comes from his statements which indicate that the South is behind the rest of the nation educationally, economically, and socially because of its policy of segregation. Also, the phrase "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" is spoken in support of King's thesis that there should be an organized effort to liberate the Negro. Thus, the theme of this address would fall into the category of speeches which are designed to persuade men to select or reject a proposition rather than the category of speeches designed to solicit praise or condemnation for someone.

King elected to support his thesis that integration would be a beneficent quality through a development of the "advantage" of the proposition. Evidence of an appeal through the "advantage" of selecting King's proposition is to be found in his argument that integration would include such quantitative benefits as economic advancement, political stability, increased social development, less violence in the streets, and a larger number of productive citizens as Negroes would have a more responsible role in community affairs in an integrated society.

The aspect of future happiness also can be found by

readers in this appeal by King. The majority of this address is directed toward persuading an audience to select and act on the proposition that integration is desirable. However, King's appeal to the Negro is founded on what the blacks of America can contribute to the nations of the world. King completed his address by stating that the "spiritual power that the Negro can radiate to this world comes from love, understanding, good will, and nonviolence. It may even be possible for the Negro, through adherence to nonviolence, so to challenge the nations of the world that they will seriously seek an alternative to war and destruction." This could be interpreted as an appeal to future happiness as King was indicating that adherents to the nonviolent form of protest can persuade nations to replace destructive means of protest with more peaceful forms of demonstration.

Evidences of praise and blame were also found in this discourse by King, but the principal object of these special topics was to persuade men to do something, rather than motivate them to praise or censure someone. Thus, this persuasive appeal followed the patterns of "persuasion to action" stressed by Kenneth Burke and the principles of deliberative discourse as developed by Aristotle.

Scene--analysis of occasion and audience

"Stanford Speech"

During the fall semester of nineteen sixty-eight, Eldridge Cleaver was offered a teaching position in an experimental sociology course numbered 139 X and titled Dehumanization and Regeneration of the American Social Order, in the University of California at Berkeley. Through the student-financed Center for Participant Education, Berkeley students drew up the plans for a course that would allow them to study ghetto problems. The students argued that through the close study of one man who was representative of ghetto dwellers, they would be given insight into the pressures surrounding low income groups. In Eldridge Cleaver students found what they thought to be an articulate representative of black Americans. Cleaver's name was submitted by students to officials of the University and the Board of Regents promptly rejected the request. On October 3, 1968, the Berkeley Academic Senate decided to oppose the Board of Regents and voted in favor of Cleaver's appointment by a margin of 668 to 114. Following the vote by the Academic Senate, the state legislature voted formal censure of the Cleaver lectures and several legislators threatened to cut the University's budget. Governor Reagan, "himself a regent, denounced Cleaver

as a criminal unfit to teach anywhere."¹²¹ Robert Scheer, the editor of the book Eldridge Cleaver, claimed that Governor Reagan "hysterically denounced the Cleaver appointment and maneuvered the Regents, the university's governing board, into denying academic credit to students taking the course."¹²² The president of the University of California at Berkeley, Charles J. Hitch, warned the University community that "There is widespread feeling that the University is somehow bent on its own destruction. I used to think that statements like this were fatuous, but I find now that over one academic course, or more accurately, over one man, there has arisen an issue which could destroy the University as we have known it."¹²³

The criticism of Cleaver's appointment did not stop with verbal attacks. Governor Reagan has tried to revoke the right of the faculty in California universities to set curriculum and select teachers. The Governor has also stated that the University might become subject to special legislative inquiry in the future. Max Rafferty, the state Superintendent of Education and a member of the Board of Regents in California, "admonished all California elementary and

¹²¹"Professor on Ice," Newsweek, LXXII, October 21, 1968, p. 92.

¹²²Eldridge Cleaver, ed. Robert Scheer (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 113.

¹²³"139 X", National Review, October 3, 1968, p. 1116.

high school teachers that they would be dismissed if they let Cleaver into their classrooms."¹²⁴

Cleaver responded to the criticisms of his appointment as a lecturer in an article entitled "An Aside to Ronald Reagan" which was published in Ramparts magazine. In this article, Cleaver stated that all those "bullshit charges that . . . Reagan . . . went through with the Board of Regents, forcing them to emasculate the course in which . . . he . . . was going to participate as a guest lecturer, don't mean shit."¹²⁵ Cleaver further charged that Governor Reagan had no right to tell the students and faculty members of the University of California at Berkeley that they would not be allowed to have him address their classes. These disagreements that Cleaver had with the Governor of California were further publicized in a series of lectures given by the black militant on college campuses throughout California. Included in this series of addresses given by Cleaver was the "Stanford Speech." Robert Scheer stated that this speech was "typical" of this series of polemical orations.¹²⁶ The following is an outline of that speech.

¹²⁴Mary Ellen Leary, "The Uproar Over Cleaver," The New Republic, November 30, 1968, p. 23.

¹²⁵Eldridge Cleaver, "An Aside to Ronald Reagan," Ramparts, October 26, 1968, p. 22.

¹²⁶Eldridge Cleaver, p. 113.

"Stanford Speech"

- I. The basic problem is this country today is political confusion.
 - A. People don't know who their enemies are; they don't know who their friends are.
 - B. People don't know whether to be afraid of the right or the left.
 - C. People don't know whether they themselves belong on the right or on the left, so they just say, Fuck it, throw up both hands, take acid trips, freak out on weed pills--alcohol is still with us.
 - D. People feel that they just can't deal with the situation and that's because the people have been consciously manipulated to that end.
- II. Blacks recognize that things are getting worse.
 - A. Racist George Wallace is number two in the polls that they tell us about for President.
 - B. General Hershey, who sends letters to black boys in the ghetto, sending them to Vietnam, is standing up saying that his choice for President is George Wallace.
 - C. Courts of law are biased against the blacks of America as was seen when Huey P. Newton, the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, was railroaded through the courts of Oakland, by Judge Monroe Friedman.
 1. Thief Friedman is a Jew who had relatives perish in the Warsaw ghetto.
 2. Friedman is aware of how Nazis killed his relatives, yet he sits on his funky ass and presides over the final solution to the Negro problem in Babylon (America).
 - D. A government run on lies has been traditional in the United States.
 1. The Democratic party has lifted its standard bearer, Lyndon Baines Johnson, and told him, you're too foul, your lies have caught up with you, you have a credibility gap going.
 2. They mean that he's a liar; that he's issued lying reports; that you can no longer believe in the statistics and reports put out by his cabinet officers; that in fact, this country has been fed lies throughout its history.
 3. People in the black community are tired of lies, tired of the liars, and tired of the gradual and non-solutions.

- a. Not just Huey P. Newton, not just the members of the Black Panther Party, but black people throughout this country have been turned away from the bootlicking leadership that we've been having for so long.
 - b. The people are saying, "We've had enough, we will no longer take it; white people are threatening us with death, they're threatening us with genocide, so that we see no alternative but to organize ourselves to get into a position to take white people with us if we have to go. If there's going to be a massive death for black people, the best that we can do is get into a position so that there'll be massive death for white people.
 - c. Black people who inhabit the core of the cities as they do are in a position to lay waste to those who will one day come to destroy them.
- E. The tyrants are equipped with hydrogen bombs so all blacks can do is go in and take those bombs as they don't have time to develop their own scientists.
- 1. If bombs are dropped on blacks, blacks will retaliate by dropping bombs on whites.
 - 2. And there can't be no other way about that. No matter what you think about it, see?
- F. The Black Panther Party advocates what may be the last alternative to racism before a revolution breaks out in the streets of the United States.
- 1. The Black Panthers, by themselves, cannot correct the racism that exists in the world today so sane white people and sane black people who recognize the situation that exists must unite with their black brothers and sisters.
 - 2. This unity is needed because divide and conquer is the only sure way that tyrants, despots and racist pigs can insure victory over the people.
 - 3. The Negro knows how this society feels about them.
 - a. This society kidnapped them, brought them here and placed them in slavery.
 - b. A young black boy was shot in San Francisco by the Tactical Squad.
 - (1) A community review board was called for to review the actions of the police department, but white racists opposed that and said, "We don't like that." This is like saying to the Negroes, "Let the niggers die."

- (2) There's going to be a review board or the blacks are going to have to review it all in the streets.
- c. The Governor of the State of California freaked out when he heard that Eldridge Cleaver had been invited to participate in an experimental course at the University of California. Mickey Mouse Reagan ran down to Los Angeles and grabbed the weak-kneed Regents by the scruffs of their necks and placed political pressure on them forcing them to say that Eldridge Cleaver could not deliver ten lectures, only one.
- d. The racist problem is rampant, the problem is a problem of survival, of blood, of your heart beating, of the hearts of people continuing to beat.
- 4. The Panthers want to see a future where there is freedom, justice and a future where there is no restraint upon people by others who exploit them and grow fat while the exploited grow skinny from a lack of all the things that a good society must have. The Panthers start with the basic principle that every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth deserves the very highest standard of living that human knowledge and technology is capable of providing. Period. No more than that, no less than that.

III. America, not Russia, not China, but Babylon, right here in America, is found the country that is the number one obstacle to human progress on the face of the earth today.

- A. Looking around today, we find ourselves in the pretty position of having to say that America the beautiful, unmasked as America the ugly, America the hideous, America the horrible, the torturer and murderer of mankind, has become successor to Nazi Germany.
- B. America was erected on the bones of the red man, and on the graves and sweat of black people; a country erected at the expense of humanity; a country created out of exploitation, avaricious land-grabbing, murder, genocide--called manifest destiny.
- C. Imperialism exists in the United States.
 - 1. The black community is ruled by racist, exploiting elements who live in the white community: a coalition of white, avaricious businessmen, politicians, who are backed up by the gestapo police departments.

2. Imperialists have turned the black community into a market: not any longer for cheap labor so much, but a market where they take welfare checks, they take the loot that we can steal and rob from the affluent white people in this country, and they suck it back through profits, and leave the Negro to live in the ghetto.
- D. Public administrators in this country have become arrogant.
1. Reagan and other pigs in the power structure do not own the government.
 2. They insult you when you go to talk to them about some need or some service that they're supposed to perform.
 3. Public servants are all out of order, from the police to the clerks in the buildings downtown; all of them act as though they own it, when in fact you pay their salary with your taxes, and if anybody belongs to anybody, they belong to the people.
 4. They have usurped the machinery of government in this country; they call it representative democracy, but it represents nothing but the pigs of the power structure.
 5. Ronald Reagan is capable of no more than reading a grade-B script in a grade-B movie. He is a punk, a sissy, and a coward and a demagogue.
 6. Hubert Humphrey is a mealy-mouthed vacillating coward.
- E. Police departments in this country have developed a caste consciousness.
1. These pigs have all the attributes of motivation that you have in the military service.
 2. If a person stands up and demands to be heard, if they say that they want to exercise their Constitutional right and state their position on the war in Vietnam, the police are given orders by plain-clothes pigs who come down and shoot you with mace or kill you.
 3. The Oakland Police Department, like all police departments in this country, is rotten from top to bottom and it's got to be put in order by the people.
- F. There aren't any more state governments.
1. We have these honorary pigs like Mayor Alioto who preside over the distribution of a lot of federal funds.

2. State and local officials are plugged into one gigantic system, one octopus spanning the continent from one end to the other, reaching its tentacles all around the world, in everybody's pocket and around everybody's neck.
3. The oppressed people have to place themselves against the international pig power structure.
 - a. Mao Tse-tung will help free slaves.
 - b. Ho Chi Minh is another force that fights the pigs in power.
- G. Government in this country has been a history of government of the pigs, by the pigs and for the pigs. American people have been brainwashed and they continue to brainwash future generations.
 1. History has been written by pigs, to edify pigs and to brutalize our minds.
 2. All of his ilk, all of the pigs of the power structure, all have to be barbecued or they have to change their way of living.

IV. Who understands the world today?

- A. White, simple-minded people, Babylonians, devoid of any ability to reason, don't know what going on in the world.
- B. College students are perhaps the only people left who can deal with this.
 1. College students are enraged about this racist society.
 2. This is why the Black Panthers are glad when they are invited to go to college campuses to talk to young white people.

V. The Black Panther philosophy is needed to free the people.

- A. The key note of the Black Panther Party's program is for the decentralization of the institutions of this society.
 1. Police departments and educational institutions must be decentralized.
 2. The Black Panther Party wants college students to help create an educational environment that will help black people cope with racism and with the murderous institutions of this society.
 - a. Students could give lectures.
 - b. Money should come from students to help build buildings in which to house this type of instruction.
 3. Colonies of blacks have been set up throughout this country and these must be decentralized before the black man can be liberated.

- B. Women can play a very strong part in the black revolution and the Panthers refer to this as pussy power. Women should tell their men that they must work for the revolution or their sugar will be cut off.
- C. Let's pay our respects to Brother Karl Marx's gigantic brain, using the fruits of his wisdom, applying them to the classless society.
- D. Good white people George Wallace, Law and Order Nixon, Meathead Me-too Humphrey have got to support Eldridge Cleaver or else the niggers are going to come into the white suburbs and turn the white suburbs into shooting galleries.
- E. People have got to start telling every Ronald Reagan, every Max Rafferty, every George Wallace, every Richard Nixon, every Hubert Humphrey to go get Fucked.
 - 1. If we can't get them out of office at the ballot box, we must start dragging them out of these offices by their ears.
 - 2. The niggers have been waiting on whites for four hundred years and they're in a position where they can't really wait much longer.
- F. There are more people in this country than there are pigs.
 - 1. The pigs can bluff us and they can frighten us, but united they cannot defeat us.
 - 2. We could corral them, we could retire them, and we can run down a program on them that would put them in their place, and we have to start doing that now.
- G. Martin Luther King stood up and told things like they were.
 - 1. He did this in a nonviolent manner.
 - 2. The bullet that killed Martin Luther King murdered nonviolence.
- H. There can be no response to a racist society but to form a revolutionary movement that can unite the people who have been ruled out.

Eldridge Cleaver closed his "Stanford Speech" with a commentary on what disciples of the Black Panther philosophy can expect from a black revolution.

Dealing with ourselves, dealing with the social scientists--the social sciences, excuse me--we can become human, we can change this barbaric, Babylonian, decadent, racist monstrosity into a civilization, and we can help the world by helping ourselves right here. If we give

freedom to ourselves right in Babylon, we will give freedom to the world, and we can then take these guns and have some disarmament, we can have some gun control, and you will be able to walk down your streets at night without worrying about somebody like me or some other crazy nigger or a Mexican or any crazy hippie or a Yippie leaping on you to get some funds or whatever else you have that he might want.

Act-Purpose

The thesis of the "Stanford Speech" by Eldridge Cleaver appeared to this writer to be Cleaver's description of America's attitude toward the Negro and a condemnation of that attitude. It is the opinion of the author of this paper that Cleaver's purpose in this speech was to persuade his audience to accept an attitude similar to his own toward racism; thus, his appeal would be considered "persuasion to attitude." A further contention of this writer is that the development of this persuasive appeal was conducted on the principles of epideictic oratory as they were set forth by Aristotle. A defense of this contention will be based on Cleaver's use of two elements considered integral to deliberative discourse: censure (supported by appeals to the injustice, smallness of spirit, austerity, or the attribution of ignoble qualities to a thing) and praise (supported by the appeals to the courage, nobleness, or virtues of a thing). The first of these special aspects of epideictic oratory, censure, can clearly be observed in the following passages from the "Stanford Speech:"

The basic problem in this country today is political confusion.

A government run on lies has been traditional in the United States.

America, not Russia, not China, but Babylon, right here in America, is found the country that is the number one obstacle to human progress on the face of the earth today.

Imperialism exists in the United States.

Government in this country has been a history of government of the pigs, by the pigs and for the pigs.

History has been written by pigs, to edify pigs and to brutalize our minds.

Further evidence of censure used by Cleaver in this speech can be found in the adjectives with which he described various political leaders in the United States. The following are examples of this method of censure:

Mickey Mouse Ronald Reagan
Reagan is a sissy, a punk, a demagogue and a coward.

Humphrey is a mealy-mouthed vacillating coward.
Meathead, Me-too Humphrey.

Mayor Alioto is an honorary pig.

Pigs in power (political leaders).

Cleaver attempted to support these declarations with the following examples from his speech:

Injustice--

Courts of law are biased against the blacks of America as was seen when Huey P. Newton, the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, was railroaded through the courts of Oakland, by Judge Monroe Friedman.

They mean that he's (President Lyndon Johnson) a liar; that he's issued lying reports; that you can no longer believe in the statistics and reports put out by his cabinet officers; that in fact, this country has been fed lies throughout its history.

People in the black community are tired of lies, tired of the liars, and tired of the gradual and non-solutions.

A young black boy was shot in San Francisco by the Tactical Squad. A community review board was called for the review of the police department, but white racists opposed that and said, "We don't like that." This is like saying to the Negroes, "Let the niggers die."

If a person stands up and demands to be heard, if they say that they want to exercise their Constitutional right and state their position on the war in Vietnam, the police are given orders by plain-clothes pigs who come down and shoot you with mace or kill you.

Smallness of spirit--

The black community is ruled by racist, exploiting elements who live in the white community: a coalition of white, avaricious businessmen, politicians, who are backed up by the gestapo police departments.

Imperialists have turned the black community into a market: not any longer for cheap labor so much, but a market where they take welfare checks, they take the loot that we can steal and rob from the affluent white people in this country, and they suck it back through profits, and leave the Negro to live in the ghetto.

Austerity--

The people are saying, "We've had enough, we will no longer take it; white people are threatening us with death, they're threatening us with genocide . . .

America was erected on the bones of the red man, and on the graves and sweat of black people; a country erected at the expense of humanity; a country created out of exploitation, avaricious land-grabbing, murder, genocide--called manifest destiny.

Attribution of ignoble qualities to a thing--

Looking around today, we find ourselves in the pretty position of having to say that America the beautiful, unmasked as America the horrible, the torturer and murderer of mankind, has become successor to Nazi Germany.

Public administrators in this country have become arrogant.

They insult you when you go to talk to them about some need or some service that they're supposed to perform.

. . . The United States . . . is a barbaric, Babylonian, decadent, racist monstrosity.

The use of praise can also be found in Cleaver's attempt to influence the attitude of his audience. Elements of this special aspect can be seen in the following quotations from Cleaver's speech:

There are more people in this country than there are pigs.

College students are perhaps the only people left who can deal with this (race problem).

Mao Tse-tung will help free slaves.

Ho Chi Minh is another force that fights the pigs in power.

To support these statements of praise, Cleaver employed the following examples:

Courage--

The pigs can bluff us and they can frighten us, but united they cannot defeat us.

Nobleness--

The Panthers want to see a future where there is freedom, justice and a future where there is no restraint upon people by others who exploit them and grow fat while the exploited grow skinny from a lack of all the things that a good society must have. The Panthers start with the basic principle that every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth deserves the very highest standard of living that human knowledge and technology is capable of providing. Period. No more than that, no less than that.

Virtues--

College students are enraged about this racist society.

In an earlier section of the present chapter, it was stated that the author of this paper believed that Cleaver's purpose in the "Stanford Speech" was to persuade the audience to accept an attitude toward racism that was similar to his

own attitude. Evidence to support this statement comes from the manner in which Cleaver attempted to motivate his audience. The only statements in this speech that directly request the audience to commit an action are:

The Black Panthers, by themselves, cannot correct the racism that exists in the world today so sane white people and sane black people who recognize the situation that exists must unite with their black brothers and sisters.

The Black Panther Party wants college students to help create an educational environment that will help black people cope with racism and with the murderous institutions of this society.

If we can't get them (politicians) out of office at the ballot box, we must start dragging them out of these offices by their ears.

The statements which were discussed under the special aspect of praise and blame are representatives of Kenneth Burke's method of "persuasion to attitude" which was developed in the first chapter of this thesis. Therefore, the majority of Cleaver's discourse seemed to be an attempt to motivate the audience to accept an attitude rather than motivate the listeners to commit an out-and-out action.

Further indication of the epideictic nature of this oration is to be found in the fact that Cleaver's comments are, for the most part, directly related to present time. Throughout the text of this speech, Cleaver makes only two comments which directly relate to future time. These are:

The Panthers want to see a future where there is freedom, justice and a future where there is no restraint upon people by others who exploit them and grow fat while the exploited grow skinny from a lack of all the things that a good society must have.

If we give freedom to ourselves right in Babylon, we will give freedom to the world, and we can then take these guns and have some disarmament, we can have some gun control, and you will be able to walk down your streets at night without worrying about somebody like me or some other crazy nigger or a Mexican or any crazy hippie or a Yippie leaping on you to get some funds or whatever else you have that he might want.

The first chapter of this paper stated that epideictic discourse "is concerned principally with the present" and Cleaver's oration is found to fulfill this requisite.

Another area of investigation which indicates that the "Stanford Speech" adhered to the principles of epideictic oratory comes from Edward P. J. Corbett's book, Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student. Corbett stated that the ceremonial orator seems to be more "intent on impressing the audience with the eloquence of his laudatory efforts than he (is) on persuading his audience to adapt a certain course of action."¹²⁷ Throughout Cleaver's oral and written discourse, terms which make direct reference to body functions can be found. Cleaver's use of referents to body functions defies description based on acceptable rhetorical theory references and for this reason the term "corporal rhetoric" will be used in this discussion.

The quotation from Corbett cited above indicates that the form of the laudatory efforts is given prominent attention in epideictic oratory. Cleaver's use of corporal rhetoric has drawn comments from his audiences as well as himself.

¹²⁷Edward P. J. Corbett, p. 139.

In the introduction to the book, Eldridge Cleaver, Robert Scheer stated that "There really was a little old lady in Orange County who sent Eldridge a note about his language: 'I like what you're saying, Mr. Cleaver, but your bad words hurt my ears!'"¹²⁸ Cleaver himself stated in the "Stanford Speech" that corporal rhetoric ". . . may or may not be the limit of my vocabulary. I don't know. I don't go around counting words."¹²⁹ These quotations indicate that Cleaver is cognizant of the effect that his rhetoric has on his listeners. The fact that he is attempting to influence people to adopt his attitude toward racism and continues to employ corporal rhetoric is indicative that he considers his method of discourse to be affective. That is, he seems to be more "intent on impressing the audience with the eloquence of his laudatory efforts than he (is) on persuading his audience to adopt a certain course of action." Thus further supports the thesis that the "Stanford Speech" would be classified as epideictic discourse.

From the observations that have been made throughout this chapter, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Cleaver's speech was, according to the Aristotelian definition, epideictic. It employed the special aspects of praise and blame which were given support by appeals to justice and

¹²⁸Eldridge Cleaver, p. XXXII.

¹²⁹Eldridge Cleaver, p. 114.

injustice, smallness of spirit, austerity, courage, nobleness or ignobleness and virtues. Also, evidence was given to support the thesis that Cleaver's comments were, for the most part, directly related to the present time. Further evidence of the epideictic structure of this appeal comes from Cleaver's concentration on his laudatory efforts, rather than requesting action from his audience. Thus, the speech fulfilled the Burkeian definition of a speech designed to motivate people to accept a certain attitude rather than follow a certain course of action.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

In the first chapter of this thesis, it was stated that the dramatic forms developed by Kenneth Burke were designed to analyze what communication does for people as they interact. That is, the five members of the pentad (scene, act, agent, agency, and purpose) comprise a model which is intended to reveal motivational influences within the context of a communication situation. Each of the members of the pentad, as they apply to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Eldridge Cleaver, have been discussed in the text of this paper to reveal the motivational influences in the discourse of each man. Such a study, believes Burke, should be conducted on the basis of information that is peripheral or circumferential to the act of communication under observation. Thus, in looking for the causistry of an act, one should analyze the motivational influences exerted on the agent. In viewing a human action, an investigation of motivational influences must include the history of the agent under consideration. That is, one should not view man as an historically isolated creature, but as a product of a situation extending through centuries. Cleaver and King have been viewed in this context in the third chapter of this thesis--"The Times of King and Cleaver."

The historical survey of King and Cleaver that took place in this paper was conducted, according to Burke's definition, on the basis of location. Definition by location attempts to view an act in terms of the area or scene of which the act is a part. The scene of the Negro, as it was developed in this paper, stressed the social and political history of the black race in America. The results of this investigation indicated that the Negro viewed himself as an actor within a scene in which he was segregated, economically deprived, and politically impotent. These factors, then, should be interpreted as motivating influences on the actions of American blacks.

A further area of motivational influence developed by Burke in A Grammar of Motives concerns a second form of definition. Burke believes that the terms a speaker elects to employ in the description of a scene can have, depending on the definition and intent of the author, a motivational bearing. It was noted in Cleaver's oration that substantial time was spent condemning political leaders and political institutions in America. Cleaver stressed the following points:

United States'	-- traditionally has been run on lies
government	
	is the number one obstacle to human progress
	is imperialistic
	has been a history of government of the pigs, by the pigs and for the pigs

Courts of law -- are biased against the blacks of
America

Politicians -- are pigs
 have become arrogant
 are demagogues.

King, unlike Cleaver, directed his listeners toward direct action and in this manner he stressed future changes in governmental and private policy regarding integration of the Negro. That is, King's definition of the United States' government emphasized what this institution would be following the success of a nonviolent form of protest. He accomplished this in the following manner:

I have a dream -- that one day this government will live
 out the true meaning of its creed:
 "We hold these truths to be self-
 evident; that all men are created
 equal."

 that one day on the red hills of
 Georgia the sons of former slaves and
 the sons of former slaveowners will
 be able to sit down together at the
 table of brotherhood.

The definitions stressed by King indicate that his intent was to inform his audience of the future scene of happiness which would result from nonviolent protest, whereas Cleaver's intention seemed to be to impose the present scene of racism and demagoguery upon his listeners.

This information suggests that the five terms which comprise Kenneth Burke's dramatic forms should be defined in the following manner:

Agent	King	Cleaver
Scene	The circumference of King's life and the background against which his appeals were made.	The circumference of Cleaver's life and the background against which his speech was made.
Act	Persuading	Persuading
Agency	Deliberative oratory	Epideictic oratory
Purpose	To motivate the audience to commit an out-and-out action.	To motivate the audience to accept a particular attitude.

However, these five terms do not stand alone in an analysis of motives. Burke states that there are relationships between two of the dramatic forms or that there may be a stress on various combinations of two or more elements. The dominant ratios within the oratory of Cleaver and King seem to be the scene-act, scene-agent, and the scene-agency combinations.

The scene-act ratio, according to H. D. Duncan, is found in "all statements which ground social motives in conditions, backgrounds, environments, natural laws, objective situations, historical necessity, equilibrium, time, the body, etc."¹³⁰ This ratio is to be found in the oratory of both King and Cleaver as each man attempted to justify Negro protest on the grounds that the blacks in the United States had been denied political and economic participation in American society. King stressed the natural laws and historical necessity of integrating the Negro into the American

¹³⁰Hugh Dalziel Duncan, p. 435.

social structure through his references to the Emancipation Proclamation, the Declaration of Independence, and the obligations of the church and its clergy. Cleaver, however, grounded social motives in backgrounds and social conditions. This can be seen in Cleaver's numerous references to the philosophy of racism and demagoguery which he believes has been traditional in the United States and the harassment which the Negro receives from law enforcement agencies. This fulfills the requisites of the scene-act ratio as King and Cleaver appeared to promote Negro actions or attitudes from the basis that the blacks in America experience a social and economic status that is inferior to that of white Americans.

The scene-agent ratio is also relevant to a discussion of King and Cleaver. This ratio requires actors to keep within the conditions of the scene as the participants in a scene are "prisoners of the situation."¹³¹ Cleaver and King both developed arguments in which they discussed the political and economic inequities faced by the American blacks. Burke believes that the implication of this ratio is that the agent within a scene can modify it in such a way as to implicitly contain the quality of his action. This would lead one to believe that King and Cleaver, through a description of racism in America, hoped to persuade Negroes that the scene should be changed. That is, motivational influences were

¹³¹Hugh Dalziel Duncan, p. 435.

imposed by King and Cleaver in the form of a description of a scene stressing racial inequality.

The scene-agency ratio can also be applied to the oratory of King and Cleaver. This ratio is the result of a situation in which ways of doing something are considered necessary conditions of social action. King stressed the agency of nonviolent protest as this would allow protesters to love the perpetrators of the system under attack. However, Cleaver stressed militant protest as nonviolent protest had been proved ineffective by the bullet that killed Martin Luther King. Under the influences of the scene-agency ratio, each man asserted that his philosophy contained the plan which would lead to the integration of the Negro into American society.

Further use of the dramatic forms should be used in an analysis of the types of oratory employed by Dr. King and Eldridge Cleaver. In the course of this thesis, it has been stated that the goal of both deliberative and epideictic oratory is persuasion. Deliberative discourse seeks to persuade an audience to take action on a particular proposition while epideictic oratory attempts to persuade an audience to adopt an attitude held by the speaker. Kenneth Burke, in A Grammar of Motives, states that "Insofar as a choice of action is restricted, rhetoric seeks . . . to have a formative effect upon attitude. . . . This is good to remember, in these days of dictatorship and near dictatorship. Only insofar as men

are potentially free, must the spellbinder seek to persuade them. Insofar as they must do something, rhetoric is unnecessary, its work being done by the nature of things, though often these necessities are not of a natural origin, but come from necessities imposed by man-made conditions."¹³² Thus, epideictic oratory, which is persuasion to attitude rather than persuasion to out-and-out action, is typically found in a situation where the scene-act ratio necessitates a particular action. The author of this paper suggests that Cleaver's reliance on the method of censure was an attempt to have the work of rhetoric (persuasion) done by the nature of man-made conditions. That is, Cleaver's primary purpose is censuring American society was to motivate his audience to accept his condemnatory attitude. In this manner, Cleaver imposed what he believed to be the nature of present conditions on his audience and through this appeal, he attempted to persuade his listeners to an attitude. King, however, concentrated less on the conditions of the Negroes in his discourse than did Cleaver. The principal message in the oratory of Dr. King seemed to be the goal of his nonviolent protest. In this manner he did not impose man-made conditions, but rather he sought action from his audience to create a more egalitarian scene.

¹³²Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 574.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE TYPES OF PUBLIC
APPEALS MADE BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
AND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

by

CHARLES S. MILES

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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Eldridge Cleaver are considered to be two Negro leaders that have had significant influence on the integration techniques employed by black Americans. This study was concerned with the rhetorical appeals used by King and Cleaver to popularize their individual policies of racial reform.

The purpose of this thesis was to study the rhetorical appeals of King and Cleaver within the framework of the Aristotelian definition of epideictic and deliberative oratory and to apply the results of this investigation to Dr. Kenneth Burke's pentad. This was done in an attempt to define the types of rhetoric employed by Cleaver and King, the purpose of each speaker, and scenic influences in the discourse of each man.

To fulfill this purpose, a background study of the Aristotelian definition of epideictic and deliberative discourse was presented in order to establish a method of analysis for the study of the speeches by King and Cleaver. The definition of each of these types of oratory was based on information contained in Aristotle's Rhetoric and Edward P. J. Corbett's Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student. Further background study was conducted in Kenneth Burke's book, A Rhetoric of Motives, to define the pentad. The concepts of epideictic and deliberative oratory were then applied to two speeches by King and one speech by Cleaver to determine the dramatic ratios within the oratory of each speaker.

The results of the study indicated that Cleaver relied, for the most part, on an epideictic development in his oral address while King's speeches were deliberative in nature. This fact, when analyzed within the framework of Kenneth Burke's dramatic forms, indicated that the purpose of King's persuasion was to motivate his audience to commit an action while Cleaver was more intent on persuading his audience to accept an attitude similar to his own.

